Alexios G.C. Savvides
Benjamin Hendrickx

INTRODUCING BYZANTINE HISTORY

(A MANUAL FOR BEGINNERS)

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Preface

Lasting for over eleven-and-a-half centuries (late 3rd/early 4th to 2nd part of 15th century) the Byzantine or Medieval Greek Empire, known to the Western world also as « Eastern Roman Empire » on account of the fact that it politically continued the traditions of the old Roman Empire, was certainly the longest living medieval institution, outlasting even the Western « Holy Roman Empire » of the Frankish and German Emperors, founded in A.D. 800 by Charlemagne and abolished in 1797 by Napoleon.

Byzantium's initial formative centuries historiographically coincide with what Western historians used to (and still) refer as « Later Roman Empire », while the Byzantines referred to themselves as « *Rhomaioi/ Romans* » and their capital, the « God-protected » Constantinople, as « *New Rome* », being proud of employing the highly honourable title of « Roman » — but at the same time knowing that the latter did not characterise their ethnic origins, which were unmistakably Greek (Hellenic) in their empire's nucleus (Constantinople and mainland Greece). It was only in that polyethnic Byzantine Empire's later centuries, from about A.D. 1204 onwards, however, that the terms « Hellas », « Hellenic » and their derivatives were to resume their ancient Greek connotations, when splintered Byzantium rallied its forces to recapture the imperial centre from the Latin conqueror, whereas in previous centuries a « Hellene » would be equated to a pagan, a worshipper of ancient Gods in temples and an enemy of the Orthodox Christian faith. The modern student, therefore, who embarks upon the study of Byzantine history, should bear in mind that the Byzantines were the ethnic, cultural and linguistic ancestors of modern Greeks and, at the same time, the heirs of the ancient Hellenes and Romans.

The present new introduction to Byzantine history is certainly not the first to appear in English under such a title. English-speaking readers have

at their disposal at least two important introductory manuals, both collective (e.g. compiled by a number of authors and edited/coordinated by one or more scholars), namely those edited in 1948 by Norman H. Baynes and H.S.L. Moss (*Byzantium : an introduction to East Roman civilisation*, Oxford U.P., 1948 ; repr., 1969 ; also in Greek trans., Athens, 1972 ; repr., 1988) and in 1971 by Philip Whitting (*Byzantium : an introduction*, Oxford, 1971 ; repr., 1981), the latter written by distinguished British byzantinists (C. Stevens, D. Nicol, C. Mango, R. Jenkins, A. Bryer, J. Gill and Ph. Whitting himself) and springing from a highly successful series of programmes on Byzantine history and art arranged by the British Broadcasting Corporation (B.B.C.), in 1968, and broadcast in the *« Study session »* on T.V. On the other hand, Baynes and Moss' volume was authored by yet another impressive array of older generation scholars, like A. Andreades, H. Grégoire, H. Delehaye, Ch. Diehl, Georgina Buckler, F. Marshall, J. Mavrogordato, R. Dawkins, W. Ensslin, A. Vasiliev, W. Miller, S. Runciman, J. Meyendorff and N. Baynes and H. Moss themselves.

Both of the aforementioned works, though undoubtedly authoritative and immensely valuable, manifest certain deficiencies when it comes to their utilisation as student manuals. Firstly, their main aim is the general public and, therefore, the various contributions seem at time disjointed among themselves, since several authors add their own stigma and make their own personal points and observations in their respective contributions. Secondly, their comparative old age (particularly Baynes and Moss' manual) render them at times bibliographically obsolete, given the spectacular progress of Byzantinological bibliography in recent decades (Whitting's manual contains only select readings to the late 1960s at the end of each chapter). That is why we make no apologies for providing a rather comprehensive bibliography at the end of our manual, for we believe that a book of this nature should guide safely its readers, whether students or others, to wide selections of a bibliography deemed among the most prolific ones in medieval historical studies in the closing of the 20th century, a fact attested in the various journals of this field.

The aim of this manual is twofold : firstly, to provide a popularised and easily comprehensible summary of the intricacies of a complicated historical period for the English-speaking general reader, but also, secondly, to offer a practical beginner's guide for English speaking undergraduate students who pursue general studies in Greek history, language, literature and civilisation in Anglophone universities and who inevitably have to tackle — at a certain juncture of their studies — the Greek medieval period with all its ramifications.

The needs and requirements of a particular group of undergraduate students, i.e. those of the Department of Greek and Latin Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University of Johannesburg (South Africa), have been taken into consideration while preparing this book, and it is through the experiences derived by teaching them that the scope and layout of this manual have been formulated. This will explain the presence in this book of a section on *Byzantino-Africana* (Byzantine-African relations and contacts), i.e. not only a short overview of Byzantine rule in North Africa until the Muslim conquest, but also some remarks on the Africans living in the « periphery » of the Byzantine Empire, as well as on the latter's influence on Nubia and Ethiopia.

On the other hand, the reader will notice that apart from a general section on Byzantium's neighbouring peoples (chapter VIII), the Empire's relations with the medieval world are treated in two parts (chapters X and XI) mainly in connection with the western world, while there are no equivalent sections, for example, on Byzantino-Slavica, or Byzantino- Islamica. It was however decided that preference should be given to Byzantine-Western relations within the limited extent of this short introductory manual. The Empire's equally important contacts and relations with the Northern and Balkan/Slavonic as well as with the Oriental and Islamic world, also including a section on historical geography/topography and several topics on medieval Europe's relations with Byzantium not included here, will hopefully be treated in a companion volume to this one, entitled *Byzantium and the medieval world*, scheduled for future publication. There, the Northern-Balkan/Slavonic section will examine Byzantium's relations with the Balkan peoples, the Slavs of central Europe and the Russians — but also the early and middle medieval Turks of the Haemus peninsula, while the Oriental-Islamic section will tackle the Empire's relations with Persia, the Arab dynasties of the Middle and Near East, as well as of Northern Africa, but also the succeeding Turkish dynasties, like the Seljuks, the Turkomans of the Anatolian emirates, the Ottomans, etc., accordingly providing lists of rulers of all these neighbouring peoples of Byzantium. Moreover, this companion volume will provide a more detailed chronology of main events in Byzantine history, with special reference to the Empire's relations with its neighbours [1], as well as more detailed bibliographies on historical geography and on Byzantium's relations with medieval Western Europe, Islam and the Slavonic world.

This manual is not simply an enumeration of dates, events, names of illustrious persons, terms and places of battles or the like, nor does it follow in the form of an arid consecutive chronological narrative the ensuing

dynasties and reigns ; Byzantine history is so « packed » with « eventology », that even the most simplified and popularised of attempts would have to be exceedingly lengthy, in order to accomodate all the available — albeit summarised — information. On the other hand, several important modern detailed, or more brief accounts exist in English (either in the original or on translations) both for the advanced but also for the intermediary reader, as for example the accounts of A. Vasiliev, G. Ostrogorsky, W. Treadgold, as well as those by Joan Hussey, Sp. Vryonis, R. Browning, J. Haldon, and others, while major collective works like the *Cambridge Medieval History* and the recent *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, the first ever comprehensive encyclopedia of Byzantine history and civilisation, are always used with profit.

The bibliographical section of this book (« Further reading ») [2] does not, as a rule, include editions or translations of primary sources, reprinted article collections, or articles in scholarly journals, but mainly consists of monographs and collective works written (or translated into) English. Yet, it also includes several standard-reference Byzantinological publications or other important monographs in other major languages with a notable output in the field, like Greek, French, German and Italian [3]. And, since this manual is chiefly addressed to students of Greek studies, the modern Greek translations of the most important publications are also mentioned in the bibliography. For obvious reasons, books on foreign peoples and nations (directly or indirectly connected with Byzantium) are not included here [4] ; likewise, no monographs on regional history (e.g. histories of cities and castles) or historical geography/topography appear, save a few references to books on Constantinople and the narrative accounts on large territories/provinces (e.g. for the post-1204 cases of Epeiros, Thessaly, Morea, Trebizond, etc.) [5]. The same limitation applies to monographs on specialised topics, like numismatics/sigillography, or the collection of Athonite documents (« Archives de l'Athos »), as well as to older monographs on individual emperors (with the exception of cases like wider studies of the epoch of Constantine I the Great, or of monographs like Charles Diehl's on Justinian I, Arnold Toynbee's on Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Steven Runciman's on Romanos I Lekapenos, Paul Magdalino's on Manuel I Komnenos, Deno Geanakoplos' on Michel VIII Palaiologos, Angelike Laiou's on Andronikos II Palaiologos, Donald Nicol's on John VI Kantakouzenos, John Barker's on Manuel II Palaiologos and others, where — apart from a prosopography/biography — we have a penetrating account of the aforementioned emperors' age), as well as other important personalities of the Empire [6]. And, of course, for obvious reasons, too, reference to

monographs on Byzantine-African topics are adequately presented here, projecting a topic with bright prospects in the future.

A further note is also deemed necessary here : this manual is mainly concentrated on a general survey of political and cultural affairs for Byzantine history beginners, so it has not proved possible to include here special chapters/units on a number of cardinal cultural topics of Byzantinology, e.g. archaeology, architecture and art [7], law, philosophy, science, music and hymnography, etc., for which the student is advised to consult among other important books on Byzantine civilisation (e.g. by S. Runciman, H. Haussig, C. Mango and others), the thematological divisions of vol. IVb (1967) of the collective *Cambridge Medieval History* on the Byzantine Empire. Moreover, the student who can read Greek, may profitably consult the relevant three Byzantine volumes of the collective *Historia tou hellenikou ethnous* (= *« History of the Greek nation »*, vols. VII, VIII and IX, Athens, 1978-1979), where all main Byzantinological topics are treated independently, in separate chapters.

A penultimate observation is also in place here : it has to do with the fact that Byzantine history — despite the discipline's developments on an international level — is rarely taught in its entirety (and as a separate unit within the context of Greek history) in Anglophone and other non-Greek universities, except, of course, Greece, where it is seen as part of its national history, that is, its medieval period. This is so on account of the fact that in non-Greek educational systems Byzantine history is faced and comprehended either as a continuation of the Roman Empire (and is therefore examined only as far as its early period is concerned, as the last section of the Roman Empire, i.e. as the « Later Roman Empire »), or as an introduction to modern Greek history from the period of the Tourkokratia (Ottoman domination) onwards (and is therefore examined in its later centuries, seldom from the 11th century onwards and, more often, from A.D. 1204 onwards) [8]. Thus, however, in the taught courses of the aforementioned universities a voluminous section of Byzantine history, i.e. from Justinian I's death in 565 (the traditional termination point of the later Roman Empire), or sometimes from the early 7th century with the reign of Herakleios I, until the Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204), is not examined properly — if referred to at all ! This manual has attempted to offer a concise presentation of all three periods of Byzantine history, yet the post-1204 history of independent or semi-independent Byzantine state entities except Nicaea (e.g. Epeiros, Trebizond, Thessaly, etc.) is not treated separately, but only cursorily inasmuch it is connected with the mainstream of Byzantine history events. Of course, it was inevitable that the early and the

late periods would take precedence in the survey narrative of chapter IV as well as in the treatment of the topics utilised in the rest of the chapters, since this book is mainly addressed to undergraduate students of Anglophone universities whose Greek studies syllabus is built on the guidelines referred to above. For an overall look at main events, on the other hand, the student/reader is advised to consult the section on chronology following the appendix on the primary sources.

Finally, a note on the transliteration of Greek names and terms in the text. To preserve a certain measure of consistency, it has been decided to employ here the orthographic system which renders them nearest to their original equivalents, as opposed to the still widely used simplified Latinised forms system (e.g. *Andronikos* for *Andronicus*, *Nikephoros* for *Nicephorus*, *Isaakios* for *Isaac[ius]*, *Keroularios* for *Cerularius*, *Sgouros* for *Sgurus*, *Angeloi* for *Angeli*, *Palaiologoi* for *Palaeologi*, *Komnenoi* for *Comneni*, *akritai* for *acritae*, etc.), except for cases of established usage, as in names of the Later Roman period (e.g. *Theodosius* for *Theodosios* ; likewise *Arcadius* for *Arkadios*, *Belisarius* for *Velisarios*, *Liberius* for *Liverios*, *Licinius* for *Likinios*, etc.). On the other hand, familiar Christian names and other names, which acquired a « traditional » English spelling, are not rendered in their original phonetic equivalents (e.g. *Constantine* for *Konstantinos*, *Andrew* for *Andreas*, *Basil* for *Vasileios*, *Bardas* for *Vardas*, *Diocletian* for *Diocletianus*, *George* for *Georgios*, *John* for *Ioannes*, *Irene* for *Eirene*, *Julian* for *Julianus* [or *Ioulianōs*], *Justinian* for *Justinianus* or *Ioustinianos*, *Marcian* for *Markianos*, *Maurice* for *Mavrikios*, *Maximian* for *Maximianus*, *Leo* for *Leon*, *Nicholas* for *Nicolaus/Nikolaos*, *Cyril* for *Kyrillos*, *Tribonian* for *Tribonianus*, etc.). Likewise, familiar English or Latinised types for locations, cities, etc., are retained throughout (e.g. *Constantinople* for *Konstantinoupolis*, *Attica* for *Attike*, *Boeotia* for *Voiotia*, *Amorium* for *Amorion*, *Bosphorus* for *Vosporos*, *Caesarea* for *Kaisareia*, *Euboea* for *Euvoia*, *Peloponnese* for *Peloponnesos*, *Rhodes* for *Rhodos*, *Nicaea* for *Nikaia*, *Adrianople* for *Hadrianoupolis/ Adrianoupolis*, *Trebizond* for *Trapezous*, *Thessalonica* for *Thessalonike*, etc., yet, *Ankyra/Ankara*, not *Angora* !).

Chapters I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VIII and XII were initially authored in Johannesburg (in August-September 1999) by Alexios G.C. Savvides and chapters VII, IX, X and XI by Benjamin Hendrickx (in the period August-December 1999), while the lists of rulers and the bibliography (to the year 2000) were to a certain extent compiled collaboratively. Both authors have also revised each other's contributions, moreover editing and drafting in

collaboration the various charts and tables of the book [9]. Alexios G.C. Savvides moreover compiled the appendix on the sources and the chronology.

Acknowledgments. — Due acknowledgments are extended to Mrs Linda Nicol of the Cambridge University Press for allowing us to reproduce the maps from volume IV.1 of *Cambridge Medieval History* ([2]1966), as reproduced in G. Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine state* (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, [2]1968) (maps 2 to 6 ; map 1, also in Ostrogorsky, was based on Th. Uspensky's *Istorija Vizantijskoj Imperii*, vol. I, Saint Petersbug, 1913, p. 40), as well as to our colleague and good friend, Dr Nicholas Nikoloudes, who effectively edited our text on computer, moreover correcting in the process the occasional slip, bibliographical, linguistic or stylistic. For further linguistic suggestions we also thank Alicia J. Simpson, M.A. (Bristol) and Ph.D. candidate at King's College, London, who patiently went through our text at short notice.

Johannesburg-Athens,
January 2001.

A.S. and B.H.

Chapter I

The Byzantine Empire : periods and chronological *termini* (A.D. 284/324-1453/1461)

By the terms « *Byzantium* », « *Byzantine state* » and « *Byzantine Empire* », modern historians usually refer to the Empire of medieval Hellenism or to the medieval « Roman » Empire of the East. The most widely accepted dates for the commencement of this Empire are A.D. 324 (foundation of Constantinople, the Empire's capital) or 330 (official inauguration of Constantinople), while the almost unanimous closing date is that of A.D. 1453, the year of Constantinople's final fall to the Ottoman Turks.

There are, however, other alternatives, not only for the two *termini* of the Empire, but also for the division of its periods and sub-periods, as we shall see below. In the year 1928 the Austrian scholar Ernst Stein in the first German edition of his cardinal manual on the history of the Later Roman Empire, dated the beginnings of the « Eastern Roman Empire » (i.e. of Byzantium) to A.D. 284, i.e. the date of Diocletian's ascension on the throne of Rome. Stein emphasised the importance of Diocletian's reforms as well as the rôle and contribution to the genesis of Byzantium, through their influence on the « first Byzantine emperor », Constantine I the Great, in the first decades of the 4th century. Some decades later than Stein, the British historian Arnold Jones also employed A.D. 284 as the strarting point of Byzantine history, while in 1997, in the most recent attempt of a Byzantine history manual in the English language, the American Byzantinist Warren Treadgold also adopted A.D. 284 as the starting and A.D. 1461 as the closing point of Byzantium [10].

The two termini : A.D. 284 to 1461. — Perhaps the telling words by a great 10th century Byzantine scholar-emperor, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913/945-959), should bear a special weight on the issue of the beginnings of the Byzantine Empire : in his *De administrando imperio* (= « *On the administration of the Empire* »), Constantine VII himself dates

the beginnings of the Empire to the reign of his illustrious older predecessor, Diocletian, providing thus a most telling example of how the Byzantines considered themselves as continuators of the Roman Empire of late antiquity [11]. On the other hand, the option of A.D. 1461 as a closing date of Byzantine history seems quite correct, since until that date two important late Byzantine outposts, two vestiges of medieval Hellenism, that is, the Despotate of the Morea (in the Peloponnese) and the Empire of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond in the Pontos (northeastern Asia Minor, or Anatolia), had outlived Constantinople by more than eight years [May 1453 - August 1461]. This date (A.D. 1461) as the closing date of medieval Greek history was proposed in 1961 by a Greek scholar from Thessalonica University, Professor Apostolos Vakalopoulos, in volume I of his extensive « *History of modern Hellenism* » (in Greek) and this volume was translated into English, thus making Vakalopoulos' view widely known. Vakalopoulos' theory, however, was to somehow perplex Byzantinists and medievalists as to A.D. 1204 being « the starting point of modern Hellenism » [12]. To their minds it would be embarassing to regard the period A.D. 1204-1461 both as the early period of modern Hellenism and, at the same time, as the later section of the late Byzantine Empire. Such an apprehension, however, could be lifted if we consider the fact that it was precisely after the period from A.D. 1204 onwards that the medieval Greeks resorted to using the terms « Hellas », « Hellenes » and their derivatives not in a derogatory manner (as in previous centuries), but proudly as a denominator of their glorious past, as we shall see below in chapter II.

How the Byzantines dated events. — Before briefly discussing the *termini* of the main periods of Byzantine history, a short note is in place here regarding the way Byzantines themselves dated events and epochs, since it

Creation of the world : B.C. 5508 (*Annum Mundi*)	
5792 A.M. = 284 A.D.	6712 A.M. = 1204 A.D.
5832 A.M. = 324 A.D.	6961 A.M. = 1453 A.D.
6225 A.M. = 717 A.D.	6969 A.M. = 1461 A.D.

is established that they rarely employed (and not until the late centuries) the *Anno Domini* system. They were faithful to their eschatological concepts concerning the advent of the Saviour, thus dating the beginning

of history since the « Creation of the World » (*Annum Mundi*), which was estimated to B.C. 5508 [13], and therefore expecting the « Second Coming » or « Doomsday » seven thousand years after the Creation, i.e. in A.D. 1492. However, their own Empire's « Doomsday » had occured three decades earlier, in A.D. 1453, and was effected by the then strongest Muslim ruler of the earth, that is the Ottoman sultan.

The Empire's chronological divisions and subdivisions. — There is no unanimous consensus regarding the beginning, the end, as well as the *termini* of the various periods and sub-periods of Byzantine history. The background to those who support the dates A.D. 284, 324 and 330 as the starting point has been discussed above. A fourth date partly adopted (by J. Bury) was A.D. 395, since in that year emperor Theodosius I the Great divided his Empire into East and West between his two sons (therefore, the « Eastern Roman Empire » should commence from that date). For the closing of the early Byzantine period the following dates are mostly adopted : A.D. 565 (death of Justinian I the Great), 610 (ascension of Herakleios I), 641-642 (fall of Byzantine Middle East to the Muslims) and 717 (ascension of Leo III the Isaurian) [14]. The latter date (first adopted by George Finlay in the 19th century), may be regarded as the most appropriate, for, as J. Bury aptly put it in his famous introduction to *Cambridge Medieval History* (vol. IV, 1923 ; repr., 1936, p. ix), « in the age of the Isaurians we feel much further away from the age of Justinian than we feel in the age of Justinian from the age of Theodosius the Great ».

Likewise, the beginnings of the middle Byzantine period is usually dated to A.D. 565, 610, 642 or — more aptly — 717. Regarding the end of the middle Byzantine period we also have diverse views, dating it to A.D. 1025 (death of the warrior-emperor Basil II the « Bulgarslayer »), 1056-1057 (end of the Macedonian dynasty), 1071 (defeat of Byzantium by the Seljuk Turks at Mantzikert, in eastern Anatolia) and 1081 (ascension of Alexios I Komnenos) [15]. Of these dates, the one bearing more lasting marks on the Empire's destiny was undoubtedly the first (1025), for from that date onwards a rapid and seldom irreversible decline commenced.

Finally, the late Byzantine period is diversely dated from A.D. 1025 (preponderant date), 1056-1057, 1071, 1081 (or even 1204) to either 1453 or 1461, as seen above in this chapter. Indeed, not only the Byzantines, but also the Latin conquerors of the Greek (Helladic) [16] lands were in turn swallowed by the Ottoman conqueror in the course of the 15th century ; thus the semi-independent state of Thessaly with its local Byzantine lords (« archons ») was gradually annexed between 1386/1387 and 1454/1470,

the autonomous state (« Despotate ») of Epeiros was annexed between 1449 and 1479, i.e. in the same period with the falls of the Morea Despotate (1460-1461) and the Trebizondine Empire (1461) ; moreover, the Ottomans succeeded in gradually annexing the Latin Duchy of Athens and Thebes (in 1456-1458), the Venetian possessions of Euboea/Negroponte (1470) as well as on other parts of mainland Greece, and later the Hospitaller Knights' possessions in Rhodes and the Dodecanese (1522-1523), the Duchy of the Archipelago (the Cyclades islands in the Aegean Sea) (by 1566) and Venetian Crete in 1669 (see here charts at the end of chapter IV).

To recapitulate, the three main periods of Byzantine history employed in this manual are as follows :

Early Byzantine	Middle Byzantine	Late Byzantine
From A.D. 284 to 717	A.D. 717 to 1025	A.D. 1025 to 1461

More details on their sub-divisions will be provided in chapter IV, where an historical overview of them is attempted along the lines set in our preface.

Chapter II

The terms « Byzantine », « Roman », « Greek/Graecus », « Hellene » and their connotations

Byzantine. — The terms « Byzantium », « Byzantine » and their derivative forms consist of « neologisms », first utilised in mid-16th century Germany and then in 17th-century France in order to characterise the medieval Greek-Roman Empire, with its capital at Constantinople (i.e. the ancient colony of *« Byzantion » / Byzantium*, founded in the 7th century B.C. by the Greek colonist from Attican Megara, Byzas), as well as to that empire's inhabitants. It is to be noted that the latter did not refer to their state as « Byzantium », or to themselves as « Byzantines », unless they referred to the inhabitanst of ancient *Byzantion*, i.e. when they adopted the antique name of their capital [17] ; therefore a « Byzantine » then was only the inhabitant of Constantinople, the Constantinopolitan — thus the term was used only geographically and topographically, not ethnicaly.

Rhomaios - Roman Empire. — In fact, the term lavishly employed by the medieval Greeks was none other than *« Rhomaîos » / « Roman »*, for they considered themselves as the lawful and undisputed continuators of the glorious Roman Empire of Late Antiquity ; their new capital, Constantinople, is often called « New Rome » in several Byzantine texts and their emperors were actually calling themselves « faithful emperors/kings of the Romans » (Greek *« pistoî basileîs/autokrâtores Rhomaîon »*). It should be observed at this juncture that the term « Roman » in this case did not in any way impart the meaning of ethnic origins or nationality — it did not mean that the Byzantines regarded themselves as descendants of Latins ; on the contrary, they were perfectly aware of their Greek origins, but they employed the honourary title of « Roman » (i.e. Roman citizen) with pride, for they were the upholders of the traditions of the old Roman world, which in turn had inherited to a great extent the ancient Greek traditions and values in the course of the long period of Roman domination over

Greece (B.C. 146-324 A.D.) [18]. And the Byzantines were not only the descendants of the ancient Greeks, both geographically and culturally, but also of the assimilated peoples.

One of the major issues of Byzantinology (the scholarly discipline dealing with all branches and aspects of the Byzantine world and its civilisation) has always been associated with the « Hellenic/Greek » character of the Byzantine state and that character's measure and degrees. Older European scholars in the course of previous centuries (18th, 19th), down to the early 20th, in a way « appropriated », as modern Greeks believe, an important integral part of Greek history and grafted it onto the early and later medieval history of the Roman West, thus characterising Byzantium simply as « *Roman Empire* » (E. Gibbon, late 18th century), or as « *Later Roman Empire* » (for its earlier period) and « *Eastern Roman Empire* » (for its middle period). The great British byzantinist of the late 19th - early 20th century, John Bagnell Bury (d. 1927), firmly established the terms « Later Roman Empire » and « Eastern Roman Empire », drawing their division point at A.D. 800, when the Frankish ruler Charlemagne was crowned emperor of the « Western Romans » by the pope. On the other hand, the prolific French byzantinist Louis Bréhier (d. 1951) would refer to the « Hellenic Roman Empire » in his celebrated trilogy on Byzantine history, institutions and civilisation.

On the glory and fame of the name « Roman »

« The honoured and legendary name of Roman men lies on the mouths of many people who pronounce it with great respect on account of the fame and glory which embrace it. »
(Theophylact Simocattes, 6th century chronicler, trans. A.S.)

Of course, even nowadays scholars who employ, by force of habit, terms like those adopted by Bury, are in fact aware that they are dealing with that medieval polyethnic « Empire of the East », whose nucleus (in Constantinople, mainland Greece and a significant part of Asia Minor) was Greek ethnicaly, linguistically and culturally. On the other hand, there are also scholars who continue to adopt rather far-fetched viewpoints, by maintaining that the Byzantines were simply « Graecophone Romans » and that the early Byzantine emperors (up to the Justinianic era, or even

until the early 7th century) had more common characteristics rather with the Roman *imperatores* of the past than with their Byzantine/Greek *epigoni*. Evidently, these scholars have not comprehended the way in which the term « Roman » and its derivatives were employed in the Byzantine Empire, nor could they comprehend why the modern Greek idiom adopted in the post-Byzantine era the variants « *Rhomiōs* » / « *Rhomeōs* », but also « *Rhomanīa* » and « *Rhomeosēne* », imparting the connotations of the continuation and survival of Hellenism through the ages.

Graecus. — Of particular interest was the use of the term « Greek » (Latin *Graecus*) in the Western Empire, signifying the inhabitants of the Eastern Empire. « *Graeci* » and « *Graeculi* » in the West assumed negative connotations since the middle medieval period and, even in subsequent (and post-medieval) centuries, « *Graeculus* » was to impart the meaning of « servant of the Latins », but also a renegade concerning his Hellenic origins ! This actually had its origins in the times of Charlemagne (early 9th century), when the latter by adopting the lofty title of « *imperator Romanorum* » would thence forward refer to the Byzantine emperor as « *rex Graecorum* », deliberately belittling the Eastern « Romans » as « *Graeci schismatici* » (schismatic Greeks). Even modern usage of the terms in western languages (Greek, greco, grec, etc.), sometimes in a derogatory sense, is a sad reminder of this disastrous, far-fetched habit of Byzantium's western fellow-Christians [19] !

Moreover, « *Byzantine* » and its own derivatives ended up having a derisive and negative connotation — ironically enough even in modern Greece itself ! In the 19th century, the « national historian » of modern Greece, Constantine Paparregopoulos (1815-1891), for example, had turned against that term, which was intentionally fabricated by the Westerners, moreover stating that « medieval Hellenism has a right to employ that name (= of Hellenes) at least in the same manner as modern Hellenism does ». Of course, in modern times « Byzantium » and « Byzantine » are amply employed by research to signify the medieval Empire of the East, in accordance with the philosophy lying behind the original usage by the German scholar Hieronymus Wolff, in the 16th century : he had actually employed it, using the antique appelation of Constantinople's ancient name, i.e. « *Byzantion* » ! On the other hand, modern scholars who continue to employ « Byzantium » and its derivatives in order to castigate and condemn medieval Hellenism, simply manifest a limitless bigotry as well as a total ignorance of history. Four-and-a-half centuries of research in Byzantine history and civilisation have definitively proved that Byzantium,

apart from being simply a vehicle for the transmittance of ancient Greek civilisation, traditions and ideals, moreover created and disseminated its own independent and most lofty spiritual, scientific and artistic creations [20].

Hellene. — In the Byzantine Empire, the term « Rhomaios » / Roman was preferred to « *Hēllen* » / *Hellene*, since the latter for the biggest part of medieval Greek history was almost synonymous to the notion of « *ethnikōs* », i.e. pagan, worshipper of idols. Several Byzantine texts, especially of Patristic or ecclesiastical provenance, refer to the followers of the ancient religion (polytheism) as « *Hēllenes* », « *hellenīzontes* » (= those who thought in the Hellenic way) ; for the Christians of Byzantium the latter were the « unholy and filthy Hellenes » (« *anōsioi kai mysaroī Hēllenes* »). In fact, terms like « *Hellas* » and « *Helladikoī* » were in use only to denote the geographical division of the large administrative province of central and southern mainland Greece, i.e. Thessaly, Sterea Hellas (except Aitolia and Akarnania, which belonged to Epeiros / western Greece) and Euboea, with the adjacent Aegean islands. From the late 7th century and after, when the so-called « Thematic » system had been initially launched in Asia Minor [21], the aforementioned area also became a unified military/administrative unit and was called « Theme of Hellas », with its capitals in Thebes or in Larissa, Thessaly.

It was only from the early 13th century onwards, following the devastating effect that the fall of 1204 had exercised on splintered medieval Hellenism, that the Byzantines of the exiled Nicaean Empire, as well as their compatriots, albeit rivals, of the autonomous state of Epeiros and the Pontic Empire of Trebizond, would gradually begin to acquire a more concrete sense of their Greek/Hellenic denominators, their « *hellenikōtes* » [22] ; moreover they would also be inspired by a latent ideology of « nationalism » and « patriotism » towards the reconquest of Constantinople, the « Queen of cities » (Greek « *vasilēvousa* » or « *vasilīs ton pōleon* ») from the Latins. The distinguished German hellenist Johannes Irmscher has written two important articles on the Empire of Nicaea as the centre of medieval Greek « patriotism », while Apostolos Vakalopoulos and Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, referring respectively to a « national consciense » of the medieval Greeks as well as to a « Byzantine nationalism », have also stressed the development of this ideology from 1204 onwards — Vakalopoulos moreover commencing modern Greek history from that date [23]. In fact both Ahrweiler and Vakalopoulos associated the post-1204 period with the birth of the « Greek nation » (through the notion of the « *Megāle*

Idēa »), i.e. the rallying of Greek resistance forces in order to rid Hellenism from the foreign yoke, a notion which was to develop in the period of the Turkish domination (Tourkokratia : 1453-1821), becoming the cornerstone for the survival of the « enslaved people » (« *to hypōdoulon gēnos* ») : Ahrweiler associated the « *Megāle Idēa* » with resistance against the Latins, while Vakalopoulos linked it with the nationalist and patriotic Hellenic feelings between the rival states of Nicaea and Epeiros, also after 1204 [24].

Chapter III

The characteristic elements of the multinational Byzantine Empire : Greek/Hellenic-Roman-Christian

It could be succinctly said that the Later Roman Empire was gradually transformed into a medieval Greek Empire through three basic procedures : its Christianisation, its de-Latinisation and its eventual Hellenisation, a process more or less completed by the early 7th century A.D. Of course, the historical genesis of Byzantium is closely associated with the political and military genius of Constantine I the Great, who was the first to decisively shift his political, institutional and administrative centre to the East, on the footsteps of the example set by Diocletian in the late 3rd century. This Constantine effected through two decisive measures : the legalisation and permanent adoption of Christianity (between 313 and 325), as well as the definitive transfer of the centre of balance of the later Roman world (*orbis Romanus*) from the western part (*pars occidentalis*) to the eastern part (*pars orientalis*) ; thus by the foundation of « New Rome » or Constantinople, Byzantium was born out of the merging of imperial Rome with Christian Hellenism — the foundation of medieval Hellenism had been laid.

Greek-Roman-Christian elements. — The three main elements which were to seal decisively the fate and historical evolution of medieval Hellenism were :

a) The *Greek/Hellenic* element, evidently visible in the Empire's social environment (which was truly a multi-ethnic one, yet partaking in Hellenic culture) and in the Greek language, which had spread in the Hellenistic Orient since the times of Alexander the Great and his *epigoni*. The term *Hellenistic* is used for the expanded Greek East after Alexander's conquests (*post* 323 B.C.).

b) The *Roman* element, preponderant in the Empire's political theory, state organisations, administrative institutions and legislature (until the 6th

and up to the early 7th century A.D. — a period inaugurating the Greek period of the Empire). And

c) The *Christian* element, closely associated with religion and faith, as well as with the Empire's biotheory and cosmotheory on the philosophical and theological spheres ; also with most manifestations of everyday life and veneration typologies throughout the Eastern Empire's duration.

Byzantium's characteristic elements :

« Christianity and pagan Hellenism intermixed gradually to form a Christian-Graeco-Eastern culture subsequently known as Byzantine. Its centre was the new capital of the Roman Empire, Constantinople. »

(A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, 1976, vol. I, p. 43.)

« Roman political concepts, Greek culture and the Christian faith were the main elements which determined Byzantine development. Without all three the Byzantine way of life would have been inconceivable. It was the integration of Hellenistic culture and the Christian religion within the Roman imperial framework that gave rise to that historical phenomenon which we know as the Byzantine Empire. This synthesis was made possible by the increasing concern of the Roman Empire with the East which was necessitated by the crisis of the third century. »

(G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 27.)

The Empire's multi-dimensional facets. — The first element to prevail, despite several problems (persevering paganism, heresies, etc.), was the Christian one already since the 4th century, while the Hellenic element did not completely assert itself on the Empire's character until the early 7th century, when the Roman element was eventually replaced by the establishment of a Greek-Orthodox Christian Byzantine state. Certain important elements of the Roman oecumene, however, were retained in Byzantium, and these were : a) its *multi-ethnicity*, rendering to it a « cosmopolitan », « ecumenic » so to speak, atmosphere ; b) its *multi-linguality*, particularly in the Empire's eastern and southeastern provinces, although the Greek tongue played a crucial rôle as the unifying chain of a common cultural heritage ; and c) its *multi-dogmatism*, which on the Christian level manifested itself in the form of major heresies and other dogmas which were gradually eradicated by Orthodoxy until the late 7th century (as far as the major heresies were concerned) [25], although several more dogmatic issues were created or continued in subsequent centuries, like the over-a-century-long « Iconoclasm », lasting from the early 8th until the mid-9th century, being of course a combination of a major dogmatic issue with a deep rooted crisis in Byzantine society [26].

Byzantium's fundamental components :

« The Byzantine state's basic components were : a) the transfer of gravity from the West to the East ; b) the toleration and, later, recognition of the equality of the new religion, i.e. Christianity ; c) the influence of Christian principles over legislature and, generally, over state maifestations ; d) the transfer of the state's capital to an orbit of influence of another language, that is, Greek ; and, e) the realisation of great reformations and change in the Empire's public and social life. »

(J. Karayannopoulos, *The Byzantine state*, 4th ed., Thessalonica, 1996, p. 59, in Greek, trans. A.S.)

Byzantium : a mosaic of nationalities. — Byzantium's multi-national character was exactly that element which rendered it powerful, innovative and lasting, since a continuing flow of various nationalities, reaching often high administrative posts in the Empire through several distinguished personalities, provided the latter with a continuously replenished vigorous element. It is to be stressed at this point that the aforementioned populations did not include the Germanic peoples, since from the early 5th century A.D. Byzantine policy adopted a de-Germanisation process, while on the other hand, later developments did not bring the Goths and other Germans in close territorial and cultural proximity within the nucleus of the Byzantine Empire.

Byzantium's populations included, among its Greek subjects, also other nationalities, some of which were also partly Hellenophone : Armenians,

Egyptians, Syrians, Slavonic peoples, as well as remnants of ancient Anatolian peoples (e.g. Cappadocians, Lycaonians, Isaurians and Phrygians), as well as of ancient Balkan peoples (Illyrians, Scythians, Thracians and Moesians), who were gradually assimilated in the new medieval ethnic entities of their respective regions, though many Byzantine authors throughout the Byzantine period continued to employ these archaic terms to denote neighbouring peoples of their Empire (see also chapter VIII). Such texts often perplex their modern reader.

Byzantium's multi-national character :

« The history of the Byzantine Empire's early centuries seems, prima vista, and in fact is to a certain point, the history of a multinational state, consisting of various national elements. This however comprises Byzantium's greatness : the fact that the Empire of the Bosphorus was a state with roots and a mission of a particularly ecumenical nature. It did not contain itself to the limited national framework of a single people, but embraced the oecumene. However, this hypernational — or rather multinational state, did not simply consist of a dry framework, where the various nationalities operated independently of each other ; it rather consisted of a crucible composing all kinds of tendencies and influences in thought, religion and art ; those tendencies it eventualy succeeded in transforming, thus attaining the Graeco-Byzantine synthesis. »

(J. Karayannopoulos, *The Byzantine state*, 4th ed., Thessalonica, 1996, p. 54, in Greek, trans. A.S.)

From Roman to Byzantine monarchy :

« The separation of the Eastern Empire from Italy [= A.D. 395, by Theodosius I] inevitably caused it to lose its Roman character. The Byzantine monarchy, which grew insensibly [unawaringly] out of the East-Roman Empire, was a Hellenistic kingdom, with a Christian Church and a Roman law-book. »

(M. Cary - H. Scullard, *History of Rome down to the reign of Constantine*, 3rd ed., London, 1975.)

It was only by means of the system of collective monarchy or absolutism, i.e. the system of *one state - one religion and church - one unified administration* [27], that these diverse peoples could be contained and governed ; and such a unity and uniformity of a veritable « mosaic » Empire of nationalities was established by Diocletian and Constantine I and perfected by Justinian I in the 6th century through his unparallelled legislation, his policy of Christianisation and an amazing programme of multi-sided construction throughout his vast *imperium*.

Chapter IV

An overview of Byzantine history : from Diocletian and Constantine the First to Constantine the Twelfth and after

The three main periods of Byzantine history, discussed in chapter I, are themselves, mostly for reason of expediency, divided in sub-periods, as shown in chart one of this chapter. In the early Byzantine period (A.D. 284-717), the three sub-divisions are dated to A.D. 284-518 (a period entitled *« From Rome to " New Rome " : formative period in the development of the basic characteristics of the early Byzantine era »*), to 518-610 (entitled *« The oecumenicity of " New Rome " : the age of Justinian I and his successors »*) and to 610-717 (entitled *« Attempts towards survival from external threats/Renewal and definitive Hellenisation of the early Byzantine state »*).

The middle Byzantine period (A.D. 717-1025) is divided once again into three sections : from A.D. 717-867 (entitled *« The formation of the medieval Greek Empire and the transitional era : iconoclastic feuds »*), from 867-959 (entitled *« The reconstruction of eastern oecumenical Christianity : era of rise of the middle Byzantine state »*) and from 959-1025 (entitled *« The Byzantine " Golden epic " era of the Macedonian dynasty »*).

The late Byzantine period is by far the most complicated, especially from 1204 onwards, when various independent, semi-independent, or even territorial (alias splinter) states were created in several areas of the Byzantine Empire — predominantly in Greek (Helladic) territories and insular areas, following the Latin conquest [28]. The four main subdivisions here are as follows : from A.D. 1025-1081 (entitled *« Beginnings of decline of the Byzantine Empire : the victory of the capital's civil bureaucracy over the provincial military lords »*), from 1081-1204 (entitled *« The military prevails : the régime of " feudal " [29] military aristocracy of the provinces and the first fall of Constantinople to the Latins »*), from 1204-1261 (entitled *« The era of Latin [30] domination ; Byzantium-in-exile and the restoration*

of the Empire [recapture of Constantinople] ») and, finally, from 1261-1461 (entitled « *Decline and fall of the Byzantine Empire : second and final fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 — conquests of the Morea Despotate in 1460-1461 and Trebizond in 1461* »). This long last section may conveniently be subdivided in two subsections : first from 1261 to 1354 (subheaded « *Last attempts at halting the fall* ») and from 1354 to 1461 (subheaded « *Towards the definitive fall of Byzantium and the last vestiges of medieval Hellenism* »).

Indeed, the detailed and intricate history of the post-1204 period has been receiving more and more attention in recent years in international bibliography. The delicate interelations and « interplay » between the Greek/Byzantine and the Latin states created after 1204, in view of the common Oriental enemy of the two last centuries (14th and 15th), are depicted in chart II of this chapter, where at times the pictorial representation is carried well into the period of the Turkish domination in Greek history, or the « *Tourkokratia* », traditionally dated to between A.D. 1453 (1461) and 1821, i.e. until the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, or War of Greek Independence/Liberation (1821-1829), eventually resulting in the establishment of the Kingdom of Modern Greece in 1830.

Overview of the early period : formation and survival (A.D. 284/324-717). — Many important detailed or more cursory surveys of Byzantine history have been written, covering either the entire Byzantine period (from the late 3rd/early 4th to the mid-15th century), or specialised periods and sub-periods (see here, preface). There is no doubt that some fundamental trends characterise all three main periods ; e.g. in the early Byzantine period we usually refer to a formative and transitional period towards a gradual de-Latinisation and a parallel Hellenisation of the Empire [31], which, in the latter part of this period faced the imminent threat of a new formidable enemy from the Orient, the Muslim Arabs, after having successfully sustained the waves of the Germanic peoples of the West (Goths, Franks and Lombards), the early Turkophone (or Turanic) peoples in the North (Huns, Kotrigurs and Utigurs, Avars and Onogurs or Proto-Bulgars) and the Sassanid Persians in the East. In the beginning of this period, the last Roman emperor, Diocletian, with his reformations paved the way for Constantine I to transfer the centre of his empire in the East ; Constantine's selection of ancient Byzantium-Constantinople (i.e. « city of Constantine ») in 324 was indubitably inspired by Diocletian's wise step, in 292, of transferring his own seat to Bithynian Nicomedeia (in northwestern Anatolia).

The importance of Constantinople's selection

« The foundation of Constantinople, which was an exact replica of Rome, testified the shift of the (Roman) government's attention towards the East ; on the other hand, the adoption of Christianity corresponded to the eastern population's desires and it was these populations who provided the (Byzantine) state with the means for its defence in manpower and money. [...] The East, which consisted of a vast residue of power for the Empire, was the first area where the new religion prevailed and it was among the Eastern populations that Christianity gathered its members and its most fervent adherents. »

(Hélène Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1975, p. 11, trans. A.S.)

Throughout this early Byzantine period the « early Byzantine state » manifested an extraordinary ability of survival against an amazing number of internal and external adversities, whereas in the religious sphere, following the toleration and shortly afterwards the official adoption of Christianity as the state religion by Constantine I (between A.D. 313 and 325), the Orthodox faith was fortified against a series of « heretical » manifestations through the first six oecumenical councils, from 325 to 680/681. Important 4th and 5th-century Byzantine rulers, like Theodosius I the Great (379-395), Leo I the « Thracian » (457-474) and the economy-minded Anastasios I the « Dikoros » (491-518), nicknamed thus on account of the different colour in the pupils of his eyes, on the whole strengthened the early Byzantine state by decisively halting the aspirations of the Goths and other foreign peoples (like the Iranophone Alans), who had penetrated in Byzantine military administration, though there were also serious setbacks in this period, like the massive but abortive Vandal naval campaign of A.D. 468 against Carthage. On the other hand, the *« reconquista »* of the Empire's western territories effected in the 6th century in the reign of Justinian I the Great (527-565), weakened — despite the temporary triumphs of Justinian's generals, Belisarius, Narses and Liberius, against the Vandals of Carthage, the Ostrogoths of Italy and the Visigoths of the Iberian peninsula [32] — the state's resources, which had been left so flourishing by the thrifty Anastasios I in 518. But Justinian's greatest inheritance to posterior generations was indubitably his great

How Constantine I the Great prevailed : the system of tetrarchies	
West	East
(North Africa [except Egypt, Libya], Italy, Central and Western Europe, Britain)	(Middle and Near East, Libya, Balkans)
1. Maximian, *augustus*, at Milan	Diocletian, *augustus*, at Nicomedeia
Constantius Chlorus, *caesar*, at Trèves, Gaul A.D. 292/293	Galerius, *caesar*, at Sirmium A.D. 292/293
2. Constantius Chlorus, *augustus*, at Eboracum/York, Britain	Galerius, *augustus*, at Thessalonica and Serdica (Sofia)
Severus, *caesar*, at Trèves A.D. 305	Maximinus Daia, *caesar*, A.D. 305
3. Maximian (restored) and Maxentius, *augusti*	Galerius and Maximinus Daia, *augusti*
Constantine and Severus, *caesars*, A.D. 306-307	Licinius, *caesar*, A.D. 306-307
4. Maxentius, *augustus*	Maximinus Daia, *augustus*
Constantine, *augustus*, A.D. 310	Licinius, *augustus* (from 307), A.D. 310
Battle at Milvian Bridge, Rome : 312 Maxentius defeated and slain	Battle at Adrianople : 313 Maximinus defeated
5. Tetrarchy turns to « Diarchy »	
Constantine, *augustus* of the West	Licinius, *augustus* of the East
Battle of Chrysopolis : 324 Constantine victorious and sole emperor	
6. Monarchy : Constantine I the Great 324-337	

contribution to the Empire's codification of old Roman laws, the celebrated *Corpus juris civilis* (« *Collection of civil law* »), which was gradually enriched by new laws written in Greek and supervised by the emperor's celebrated legal counselor and official, Tribonian.

Justinian's Wars A.D. 527-561/562	
West	East
	First Persian War (Belisarius) 527-532
Vandal War (Belisarius) 533-534	
First Ostrogothic War (Belisarius, Moūndos) 535-540	
	Second Persian War (Belisarius) 540-545
Second Ostrogothic War (Belisarius) 544-550	
Third Ostrogothic War (Narses) 550-554	Third Persian War (Belisarius) 549-557 (561/562)
Visigothic War (Liberius) 552-555	

Justinian's successors continued the protracted Persian wars, while the danger of the Balkan front became particularly imminent with the infiltration of the Avars and Slavs from the late 560s (Constantinople itself faced

Justinian's laws *Corpus juris civilis*	
Codex Justinianus (based on *Codex Theodosianus* of A.D. 438 ; Roman laws from Hadrian until A.D. 529)	publ. 529, 534
Institutiones or *Elementa* (legal manual for university students)	publ. 533
Digesta or *Pandectae* (selections from famous Roman legal collections)	publ. 533-534
Novellae or *Nearai* [in Greek] (supplementary laws influenced by Christianity and the social conditions of 6th century)	publ. from 529 onwards

imminent threat during a raid by the Hunnish people of Kotrigurs, in A.D. 558-559) ; in fact the Slavonic settlements on Greek soil (particularly in the Peloponnese or Morea in the south), which were to multiply in subsequent centuries gave rise to the so-called « Slavonic issue », a controversy created following the theory of the 19th century German historian, Jakob-Philipp Fallmerayer, who in the 1830s expounded his theory of a « Slavisation » and « Albanisation » of mainland Greece in the course of the Middle Ages, to the effect that modern Greeks of his time had little direct connection with the ancient Hellenes ! Although passionate replies were voiced in the 19th and early 20th centuries, especially on the part of Greek scholars who countermanded Fallmerayer's view by supporting that the Slavophone pockets (Greek « Sklaveniai ») in medieval Greece were eventually absorbed by the local elements, modern scholarship has shown that Fallmerayer did not harbour « anti-Greek » sentiments, but was simply voicing his contemporary Europe's opposition to the Russian Empire's « Panslavism » [33].

Byzantine Exarchates	
Exarchate of Italy	Exarchate of Africa
Capital : Ravenna	Capital : Carthage
A.D. 584-751	A.D. 591-697/698
abolished by Lombards	conquered by Muslims

Pre-Themes of Syria-Palestine			
Emesa/Arab. Hims	Damascus/Dimasqh	Jordan/Urdun	Palestine/Filastin

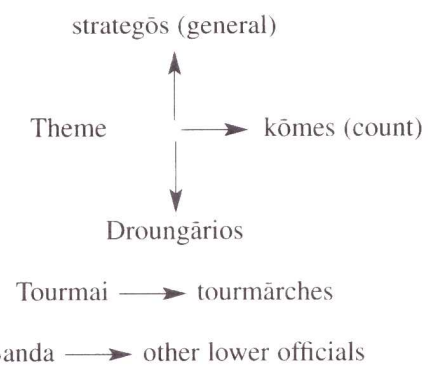
The tribulations and multi-sided menaces which faced emperor Herakleios I in the first decades of the 7th century, were once again miraculously thwarted through this emperor's stunning victories over the Avars and Slavs as well as the Persians, between 622 and 630. However, the menacing Arabs succeeded in wrestling from the Empire all of its Middle Eastern outposts by a series of astounding victories until the capture of Egypt, the Byzantine Empire's chief granary, in 641-642. It was in those extremely difficult decades that Herakleios was to associate himself with the creation of the « Thematic » system (from Greek « Thema » / « Theme »), i.e. the system of extensive military-administrative units on the pattern of the 6th century « Exarchates » of Italy and North Africa, but also, as recent research has shown (I. Shahid), on the pattern of the « pre-Thematic » system of military and administrative units in the areas of Syria and Palestine, encountered in the early decades of the 7th century in Arabic sources. Initially established in Asia Minor after A.D. 622, in Herakleios' reign, the thematic system, aptly characterised by G. Ostrogorsky as the backbone of Byzantine administration, army and defences, later multiplied and extended over Greece proper, the Balkans and Italy/Sicily in the course of the period between the Herakleids (later 7th century) and the era of the institution's initial decline, in the course of the 10th and 11th centuries.

Herakleios' successors faced the imminent danger of Muslim conquest, yet the Arabs failed ignominiously in front of the walls of the imperial city, in 673/674-677/678 and again in 717/718, when in both cases their fleets were destroyed by « Greek fire », a liquid concoction (also later used by the Muslims) based on sulphur which could be inflamed when thrown against enemy vessels. It was also in that period of the Herakleids, that the First Bulgarian Empire was founded in 680/681 south of the river Danube, the Empire's traditional northern frontier line in the previous centuries. The Bulgars, still a pagan Turanic (Turkophone) warring people, were to develop into Byzantium's fiercest Balkan opponent in subsequent centuries, even after their Orthodox Christianisation and gradual Slavicisation after the middle of the 9th century. Indeed, the year 717 was the beginning of a new era for Byzantium.

Overview of the middle period : transition and expansion (A.D. 717-1025). — It was in fact the Isaurian dynasty's founder, Leo III, who had repelled the Arabs in 717/718. Together with his successors he was to wage ceaseless wars against Muslims and Bulgars. This period consists of the early section of the middle Byzantine era, a period which, on the ecclesiastical/religious spheres would be permeated by the formidable « Iconoclastic » controversy, an over-a-century dogmatic as well as social confrontation between « iconophiles » or « iconodules », viz. icon-worshipers, and « iconoclasts » or « iconophobes », viz. icon persecutors, the latter being influenced on the dogmatic level by the Oriental « uniconical » tradition ; launched in A.D. 726, it gradually engaged the Empire's « Thematic » armies either on the side or against the two first Iconoclast emperors, Leo III and his successor, Constantine V (derisively nicknamed « Kopronymos », i.e. « Dung-name » by pro-iconodule sources), as well as their successors. This bitter quarrel reached a halt with the temporary prevalence of the icon-worshipers in 787, with the Seventh oecumenical council, and was eventually terminated by the conclusive victory of Orthodoxy, in 843.

Moreover, the rising differences (dogmatic and others) between East and West would culminate in the serious « schism » (i.e. « rift », « separation ») between the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, the prolific scholar Photios, and the indomitable head of Roman Catholicism, pope Nicholas I, in the years 863-867. This schism, which lasted until 886, expressed the religious split between the two Christian worlds, which had also been politically « severed » since the year A.D. 800, when, on Christmas day, the Frankish king Charles the Great (Charlemagne) was crowned

The internal structure of a Theme



Byzantium's themes in Asia Minor and Crimea
(7th-9th centuries)

Theme	First mentioning	Capital
Armeniakon	667	Amaseia
Anatolikon	669	Amorium
Opsikion	680	Nicaea
Carabisian/Cibyrraeot	710/720, 732	Attaleia
Thrakesion	741	Ephesus
Bukellarion	767	Ankyra
Chaldia	824	Trebizond
Paphlagonia	826	Gaggra
Cappadocia	830 (kleisoūra), 863	Tyana
Cherson	833	Cherson
Optimaton	before 863	Nikomedeia
Koloneia	863	Nikopolis (Koloneia ?)
Charsianon	863 (kleisoūra), 873	Caesarea

in Rome by pope Leo III as « emperor of the Romans » (Lat. « *imperator Romanorum* ») — from now on, for the Westerners, the « schismatic »

emperor of the (eastern) Romans would be relegated to a mere « king of the Greeks » (Lat. « *rex Graecorum* ») [34] . This unbridged contest would from now on permeate Western-Byzantine relations, to the end of the Middle Ages in the 15th century. Charlemagne's successors, the Carolingians, were unable to sustain the unity of the « Holy Roman Empire (of the Frankish Nation) » after the middle of the 9th century, but, a century later, the tradition was upheld by the German emperor, Otto I (crowned as « Holy Roman Emperor » [of the German Nation] in A.D. 962), and his Ottonid successors. It was with the Ottonids that Byzantium developed diplomatic relations which were to culminate with the marriage of a Byzantine princess, Theophano, to the emperor Otto II. It was this Theophano who spread Greek Orthodox culture among the Germans until the early 11th century.

The Holy Roman Empire of the West	
Franks	Germans
Charlemagne, crowned in 800	Otto I, crowned in 962
↓	↓
Carolingians	Ottonids

The Amorian or Phrygian (Anatolian) dynasty of the 9th century (820-867) carried on the Arab wars of the Isaurians and their successors with the exploits of the legendary epic heroes of the Byzantine frontier, the « akritai » (i.e. « warriors of the edges/borders »), who were to leave an indelible mark on Byzantine popular literature. In that period, too, a systematic process of christianisation of the Slavs and other peoples took place, thus carrying the torch of Orthodoxy beyond Byzantium's frontiers. The apex of this policy was closely associated with the missionary work of the two Thessalonian clerics, Saints Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, whose mission among the Khazars (Turks) of the Crimea (860-861) and the Moravians of central Europe (863-867) were to seal the cultural heritage of the Slavs through the creation of the « Cyrillic » alphabet (employed to our day by the Russians and other Slavophone peoples), although eventually the Khazars adopted Judaism (the only Turkophone people in history to do so), while the Moravians were drawn to Catholicism. But it was Bulgaria, a bone of contention between Catholic and Orthodox missionaries, which

Chart I :
History of the Byzantine Empire
A.D. 284-1461
Periods

Early Byzantine	Middle Byzantine	Late Byzantine
from : A.D. 284/324/330/395 to : A.D. 565/610/641-642/717	from : 717 to : 1025/1056-1057/1071/1081	from 1025 to : 1453/1461
1. 284-518 : From Rome to « New Rome » : formative period in the development of the basic characteristics of the early Byzantine era.	4. 717-867 : The formation of the medieval Greek Empire and the transitional era : iconoclastic feuds.	7. 1025-1081 : Beginnings of decline of the Byzantine Empire : the victory of the capital's civil bureaucracy over the provincial military lords.
2. 518-610 : The oecumenicity of « New Rome » : the age of Justinian I and his successors.	5. 867-959 : The reconstruction of eastern oecumenical Christianity : era of rise of the middle Byzantine state.	8. 1081-1204 : The military prevails : the régime of « feudal » military aristocracy of the provinces and the first fall of Constantinople to the Latins.
3. 610-717 : Attempts towards survival from external threats. / Renewal and definitive Hellenisation of the early Byzantine state.	6. 959-1025 : The Byzantine « Golden Epic » era of the Macedonian dynasty.	9. 1204-1261 : The era of Latin domination / Byzantium-in-exile and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire (recapture of Constantinople). 10. 1261-1461 : Decline and fall of the Byzantine Empire : second and final fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 — conquests of Morea Despotate in 1460-1461 and Trebizond in 1461. 10a. Last attempts at halting the fall (1261-1354). 10b. Towards the definitive fall of Byzantium and the last vestiges of medieval Hellenism.

eventually adopted Orthodox Christianity (A.D. 864) through the astute policy of patriarch Photios, an additional reason leading to the ecclesiastical schism of 863-867, mentioned above.

So, major differences with the West on the religious sphere remained, despite the initiative of the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil I, to lift the ecclesiastical schism and acknowledge a kind of a « limited oecumenicity » of Byzantium, thus recognising a good deal of the pope's powers in Christendom. In fact, Basil I's and Leo VI's reigns consist on the one hand of a period of notable legal collections [35] and, on the other, of a continuous struggle against Arabs in the East, where they also successfully faced the dangerous Paulicians (dualist heretics) on the side of the infidel, and Bulgars on the Balkan front. A unique epoch of Byzantine « belles lettres » would then characterise the first part of the 10th century, when the scholar-emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (« born-in-purple », i.e. in the purple-coloured room of the imperial palace, in Constantinople) assembled around him a formidable number of sages, scholars and scientists, to the effect that scholarship would refer to this period as the « age of Constantine Porphyrogennetos ».

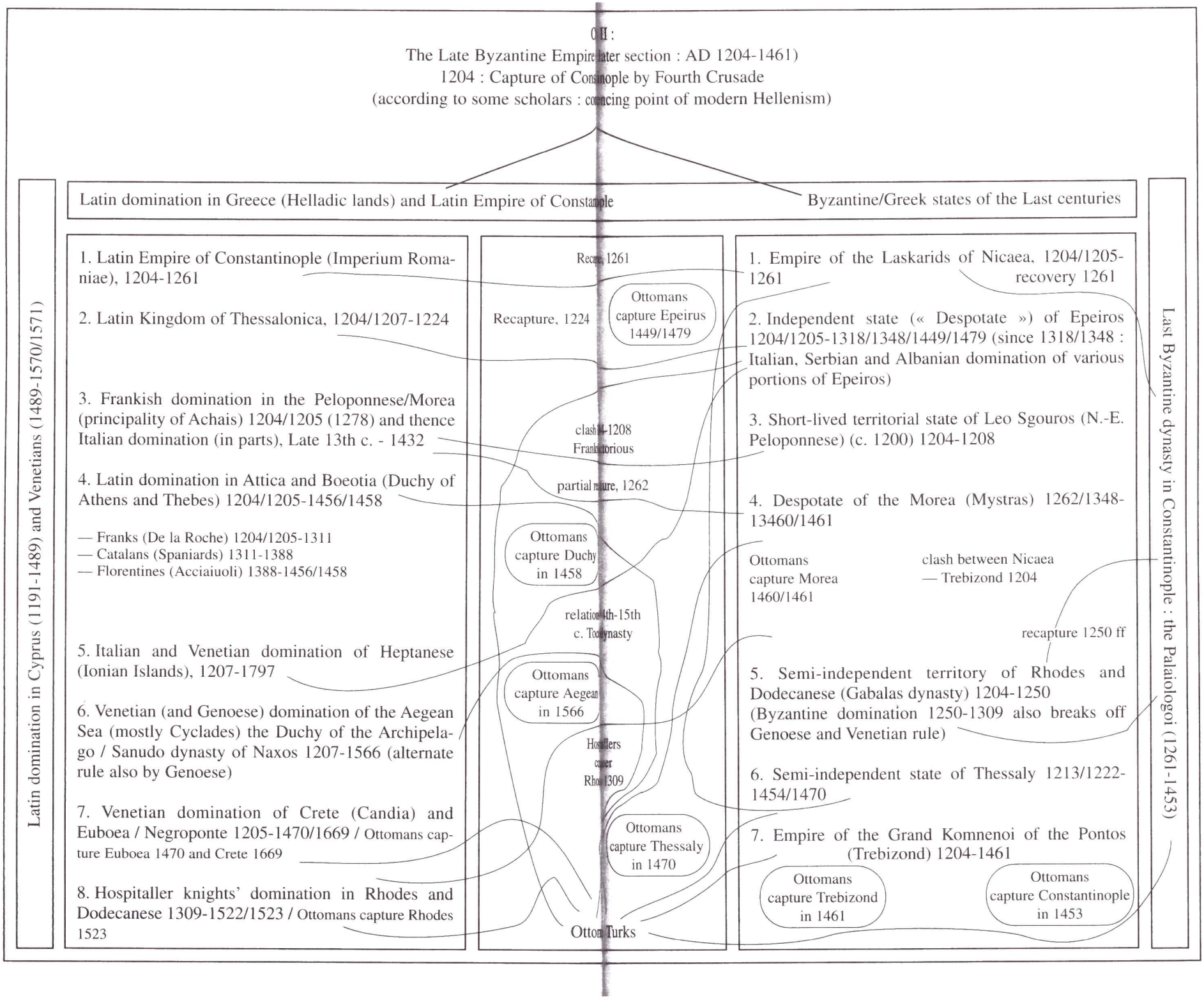
The most glorious epoch of Byzantine history, with decisive victories over the Muslims and the Bulgars, was to ensue in the footsteps of Justinian's 6th-century reconquests, in the second part of the 10th and the early decades of the 11th century ; this was the « Golden Epic » (G. Schlumberger) of Byzantine military expansion in all directions, within the framework of a period termed as « rebirth of Byzantine oecumenicity » or « Byzantine imperialism » (H. Ahrweiler), i.e. the era of the Macedonian dynasty — contrary to the above mentioned policy of « limited oecumenicity » on the ecclesiastical/dogmatic sphere. So in the course of that period of conquests, the Empire witnessed (from 963 until 1025) the exploits of the warrior emperors Nikephoros II Phokas, John I Tzimiskes and, most of all, Basil II « Bulgaroktonos » (i.e. « Bulgarslayer »), who, in the culmination point of his career, crushed the Bulgars and annexed their First Empire between 1014-1018 ; until 1185-1186, Bulgaria was to remain a Byzantine province. The death of Basil II, that austere monarch who had led a soldier's life and could not stand women and « people of the pen » around him, marks the end of the middle Byzantine era — an era which witnessed the apex of imperial power and which could hardly foretell the sudden decline which was to ensue.

Overview of the late period : decline, prostration and collapse (A.D. 1025-1461). — Basil II's demise signifies the commencement of a long

period of decline for the Empire, during the reigns of his incompetent and « idle » successors. This epoch witnessed the gradual victory of the civil bureaucratic officials of the capital over the « feudal » military aristocratic « archons » (lords) of the Byzantine provinces. The period 1025-1081 saw only two capable military-emperors on the throne, namely Isaakios I Komnenos, whose brief reign did not allow him to complete his work, and Romanos IV Diogenes, scion of a notable military family, who was the one to suffer the disastrous defeat by the Seljuk Turks at Mantzikert, in Eastern Anatolia, in 1071, thus loosing for the Empire a significant portion of this crucial peninsula, the former backbone of imperial defenses in the East. In that same year (1071) the rising Normans of Italy seized Bari, thus ending a long period of continuous Byzantine presence and rule there.

On the other hand, the same era witnessed the reign of the incompetent Constantine IX « Monomachos » (an ironically military surname [« Gladiator »] for an emperor responsible for the dismantling of Byzantine forces). Constantine IX, it is true, was « honoured » by a series of notable events his reign ill deserved and certainly was unable to cope with (e.g. the last Russian attack on Constantinople in 1043 [36], the great abortive rebellions of the famous Byzantine generals George Maniakes and Leo Tornikios in 1043 and 1047 respectively and, chiefly, the final and decisive « schism » of 1054 between the Eastern and Western Churches, a rupture which has not been lifted until today). In Monomachos' times the authority of the emperor reached a particularly low ebb and he in fact became the jester of his own courtly buffoon, a notorious stammerer called Romanos Boilas, who used to come and go as he pleased in the palace and whose machinations nearly cost Constantine IX his throne in 1050-1051.

With the successful insurrection of the founder of the Komnenian dynasty, Alexios I Komnenos, the « feudal » military aristocracy of the provinces eventually carried the day at the expense of the civil bureaucrats. The era of the Komnenoi (A.D. 1081-1185) has been studied in detail in recent years and it is true that the dynasty's scions were all important personalities, from the diplomatic Alexios I (who crushed his Balkan enemies, came to terms with the knights of the First Crusade and astutely suceeded in getting back from the Seljuks an important part of Asia Minor) and his methodical son and successor John II (who extended his father's empire both in the Balkans against the Turkophone Patzinaks/Pechenegs and Kumans and in the East against the Crusader states), to the blatantly pro-Western Manuel I (whose « *nova reconquista* » in Italy failed ignominiously, his wars against the Hungarians ended inconclusively, while his


CH :
The Late Byzantine Empire later section : AD 1204-1461)
1204 : Capture of Constinople by Fourth Crusade
(according to some scholars : commencing point of modern Hellenism)
Latin domination in Greece (Helladic lands) and Latin Empire of Constantinople
Byzantine/Greek states of the Last centuries
Latin domination in Cyprus (1191-1489) and Venetians (1489-1570/1571)
Last Byzantine dynasty in Constantinople : the Palaiologoi (1261-1453)
1. Latin Empire of Constantinople (Imperium Romaniae), 1204-1261
2. Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica, 1204/1207-1224
3. Frankish domination in the Peloponnese/Morea (principality of Achais) 1204/1205 (1278) and thence Italian domination (in parts), Late 13th c. - 1432
4. Latin domination in Attica and Boeotia (Duchy of Athens and Thebes) 1204/1205-1456/1458
— Franks (De la Roche) 1204/1205-1311
— Catalans (Spaniards) 1311-1388
— Florentines (Acciaiuoli) 1388-1456/1458
5. Italian and Venetian domination of Heptanese (Ionian Islands), 1207-1797
6. Venetian (and Genoese) domination of the Aegean Sea (mostly Cyclades) the Duchy of the Archipelago / Sanudo dynasty of Naxos 1207-1566 (alternate rule also by Genoese)
7. Venetian domination of Crete (Candia) and Euboea / Negroponte 1205-1470/1669 / Ottomans capture Euboea 1470 and Crete 1669
8. Hospitaller knights' domination in Rhodes and Dodecanese 1309-1522/1523 / Ottomans capture Rhodes 1523
Recapture, 1261
Ottomans capture Epeirus 1449/1479
Recapture, 1224
clash 1204-1208
Frankocratorious
partial recapture, 1262
Ottomans capture Duchy in 1458
relations 14th-15th c. Tocco dynasty
Ottomans capture Aegean in 1566
Hospitallers conquer Rhodes 1309
Ottomans capture Thessaly in 1470
Ottoman Turks
1. Empire of the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204/1205-1261 recovery 1261
2. Independent state (« Despotate ») of Epeiros 1204/1205-1318/1348/1449/1479 (since 1318/1348 : Italian, Serbian and Albanian domination of various portions of Epeiros)
3. Short-lived territorial state of Leo Sgouros (N.-E. Peloponnese) (c. 1200) 1204-1208
4. Despotate of the Morea (Mystras) 1262/1348-13460/1461
Ottomans capture Morea 1460/1461
clash between Nicaea — Trebizond 1204
recapture 1250 ff
5. Semi-independent territory of Rhodes and Dodecanese (Gabalas dynasty) 1204-1250 (Byzantine domination 1250-1309 also breaks off Genoese and Venetian rule)
6. Semi-independent state of Thessaly 1213/1222-1454/1470
7. Empire of the Grand Komnenoi of the Pontos (Trebizond) 1204-1461
Ottomans capture Trebizond in 1461
Ottomans capture Constantinople in 1453

offensive in the Anatolian front ended up in the disaster at the hands of the Seljuks at Myriocephalum [« the one-thousand headed place »], in 1176, only to be partly rehabilitated by his previous temporary successes against the Crusader states in the Middle East) and, finally, to the robust Andronikos I (whose popular measures in favour of the poorer and middle social classes united against him the military aristocratic land-holders and other magnates, who brought about his violent overthrow and appaling dismemberment by an infuriated Constantinopolitan mob). The following dynasty of the Angeloi, within the two decades of its rule brought the Empire to a lamentable condition on the eve of the 1204 Latin conquest, by incessant commercial privileges to the Venetians, by a variety of heavy taxes imposed on their subjects (even a « German tax » — « *alamanikon* » in Greek [37], was devised in order to placate the German emperor's aspirations on the Byzantine throne), by a proverbial inability to face the Empire's external enemies (knights of Third Crusade looming large in the Empire's Balkan provinces, Bulgars who in 1185-1186 succeeded in founding their Second Bulgarian Empire, following almost 165 years of Byzantine domination), as well as by a series of internal insurgents, who established their separatist states defying central imperial authority. The fall of Byzantium to the Fourth Crusade (1204) inaugurates the last section of late Byzantine history and the replacement of the Byzantine by the Latin Empire of Constantinople or « Romania » (« *Imperium Romaniae* »), where a Flemish lord, Baldwin I of Flanders and Hainault, became first emperor and a Venetian cleric was put on the patriarchal throne. Indeed, the Venetians who had so instrumentally assisted the Fourth Crusade with their fleet and money, were to receive the lion's share of the Byzantine spoils, the most important being crucial commercial towns and ports in mainland and insular Greece [38].

On the opposite side of the Bosphorus, the defeated Byzantines themselves set up an exiled Empire centered at Nicaea, near Constantinople, where the Laskarid dynasty carried on with the imperial traditions amidst an incessant struggle with the Latins of « Romania » and the Seljuk Turks of the Sultanate of Ikonion/Konya (referred to as « Sultanate of Rûm » [39]), not to mention the initial fratricidal strife with the Byzantine Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond and the ensuing rivalry with the chief among the Greek after-1204 states created in western Greece, i.e. the Epeirot state ; moreover, Byzantine separatist « petty-states » continued to defy imperial authority, like that of the Peloponnesian lord Leo Sgouros (who succeeded — albeit briefly — in expanding his possessions as far north as Thessaly), as well as that of the semi-independent Gabalas dynasty of Rhodes and the

Dodecanese, who did not hesitate to conclude a pact with Venice in order to remain outside Nicaea's orbit. In addition, the rival autonomous state of Epeiros (wrongly termed as a « Depotate » by a number of scholars, since its founder never actually held the title of « despot ») posed a serious threat with its successes in northern Greece (especially after it occupied Thessalonica in 1224 thus abolishing the Latin « Lombard » Empire created there since 1204/1207), yet it was the Nicaean Empire which was to prevail in the contest for imperial restoration. The Nicaean emperor John III Doukas Batatzes seized Thessalonica in 1246, while several years later a distinguished usurper who had overthrown the Laskarid line, Michael (VIII) Palaiologos, succeeded in recapturing Constantinople from the Latins, in July 1261, entering the City in triumph as the « New Constantine ». It was this Palaiologos who founded the last imperial dynasty (1261-1453) ; two years before (1259), he had crushed the united forces of the Epeirots and the Morea Franks in the hotly-contested battle of Pelagonia in western Macedonia, liberating his captive Frankish ruler of the Morea on condition that he would receive certain strongholds in the Morea and thus inaugurating the long period of the Morea Despotate (1262). One of his first acts as new monarch was to countermand the extensive Venetian privileges by further privileges to their Italian rivals, the Genoese !

Under the Palaiologan dynasty (1261-1453) Byzantium experienced its last two centuries of decline and eventual fall. In that period the extent of the Empire (« Empire » only in name) was never impressive, but in the final years before the conquest of Constantinople it was reduced to the imperial capital and its surroundings, some Aegean islands and the Morea Despotate, in the Peloponnese ! The two main historical sections of Palaiologan history (A.D. 1261-1354 and 1354-1453) saw Byzantium — as in previous epochs — entangled in a network of evergrowing complicated international relations, but with a significant difference : it was less and less in a position to play a predominant rôle in these developments. Michael VIII throughout his reign was forced to deal with the growing Western menace of the French Angevin (Anjou) dynasty of Southern Italy and Sicily, playing against the latter through religious agreements with the Papacy, even going as far as recognising Catholic primacy at the council of Lyons — a so-called « union of the Churches » which was never recognised by his subjects, who in fact anathematised his memory ! And although Michael VIII eventually succeeded in riding Byzantium of the Angevin threat by fomenting the « Sicilian Vespers » (1282), through which French rule in Sicily ended in a blood-bath, his attention for the Empire's affairs on the Balkan and western fronts in fact made him neglect

his Anatolian front in the East, where from that time the dwindling power of the Rûm Seljuks and their epigonic Turkoman emirates was gradually being replaced by that of the rising Ottoman emirate, which would in the next century (14th) be transformed into a formidable Sultanate — and eventually into an Empire. It was from that time on that the Byzantine frontier-lords, the « *akritai* » of the imperial borders, declined and thus « opened the gate » to the new powerful enemy.

It was the scholarly Andronikos II, immersed in theology and engrossed in philosophical disputations, that took the brunt of the first organised Ottoman attacks, which within a few decades had conquered most of Bithynia, in northwestern Anatolia (1302-1337). Pressed by Venetians, Genoese and Byzantium's new major Balkan opponent, the Serbs, the emperor faced additional trouble by the Spanish Catalan Company, who although initially served as Byzantium's mercenaries against the Turks, finally opted for invading northern and central Greece (1305-1310), until they established their « Duchy » in Thebes and Athens (1311-1388) [40]. Moreover, a disastrous civil war between Andronikos II and his grandson, Andronikos III, further weakened the Empire's defense capability against Ottomans and Serbs, the latter establishing themselves as the new great Slavonic power in the Balkans, after crushing the Bulgarians. Indeed, the Serbian ruler, Stephen IV Dushan (1331-1355), soon made it evident that he aspired on the Byzantine throne and when he had annexed a considerable part of Byzantine lands in northern and central Greece, he proclaimed himself « emperor of the Serbs and Romans » (1346). Meanwhile, Byzantium was being torn apart by another fratricidal strife between John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos, the latter not hesitating to call upon the aid both of the Turkomans of the western Anatolian littoral (of the Aydin Emirate or Beylik), but also that of the Ottomans, moreover marrying his little daughter, Theodora, to the Ottoman ruler, Orchan, in 1346. Surely, the most important chapter in that civil conflict was the so-called « Zealot rule » in Thessalonica (1342-1349), which constituted a peculiar 14th-century « socialist » régime of that time administered by the Zealots (Greek « *Zelotaī* », i.e. the « zealous ones »), adherents of the Palaiologoi against the more aristocratic following of Kantakouzenos, who however emerged victorious with the support of the aristocracy and the clergy, establishing his friend Gregory Palamas as archbishop of the Macedonian capital. Palamas himself had been the most celebrated exponent of the monastic movement of « Hesychasm » (Greek « *Hesychasmōs* », from the verb « *hesychāzo* » = « rest in tranquility »), which was to create most faithful adherents but also most violent opponents, for that was hardly a time

for « tranquility », when the Empire needed to rally the utmost of its forces in order to face the multi-lateral dangers emerging from all corners ! In this respect, the rôle of Hesychasm proved to be detrimental.

The Ottomans, on the other hand, were fending for themeselves and in 1354, with the capture of the Kallipolis/Gallipoli peninsula, set a firm footing on European soil. The long history of the Ottoman expansion in Southeastern Europe officially commenced in that year. The might of the 14th-century conquering sultans Orchan (1326-1362), Murad I (1362-1389) and Bayazid I, the so-called « Thunderbolt » (in Turkish « *Yïldïrïm* ») (1389-1402), was to reduce Byzantium and the rest of the Balkan states to mere insignificance. It was from this period onwards that the notorious practice of « children levying » (Greek « *paidomāzoma* », Turkish « *devshirme* ») was implemented by the Ottomans, who used to transform the abducted Christian children to phanatic warriors of Islam, the formidable « Janissaries » or Janissary corps. In his successive long reigns, the hapless John V Palaiologos not only witnessed the Ottoman advance and spectacular victories over the Serbs and Bulgars as well as the gradual annexation of Macedonian and Thracian Byzantine towns and fortresses between 1359 and 1392 to the Sultanate (whose new capital, from 1368/1369 became Adrianople/Edirne in Turkish), but was also reduced to a beggar in the courts of indifferent Western rulers, where he had sought aid against the infidel, not hesitating to acknowledge papal supremacy once again during his 1369 visit to Rome. On the other hand, the only remaining Anatolian Byzantine stronghold, Philadelphia, capitulated to Bayazid I, in 1390.

One year before (1389) a Balkan coalition under the Serbs was crushed at Kossovo Polje (i.e. « Field of the black birds ») by sultan Murad I, who was himself slain on the battlefield. Since that eventful date, Kossovo has been the cradle of Serbian nationalism. The last decade of the 14th century and the first of the 15th saw further spectacular Ottoman conquests in central and southern Greece, as far south as parts of the Morea, as well as another appaling defeat of a Western-Balkan coalition, the « Crusade of Nicopolis », in 1396. A protracted siege of Constantinople (1394-1402) showed that the end of the Empire was well nigh, but Byzantium managed to gain a temporary respite by a « Deus ex machina » (a « divinely sent ») defeat of Bayazid I at the hands of the Mongol ruler, Tamerlane, at the carnage of Ankyra/Ankara, in July 1402. Byzantium was allowed to breath for another fifty years.

The period of Ottoman civil strife in the early 15th century permitted emperor Manuel II Palaiologos to regain certain Byzantine possessions (Morea), but the Ottomans reappeared on the scene even more menacing

under Murad II (1421-1451), with a new siege of Constantinople and Thessalonica (1422), the latter city falling eventually to the Turks in 1430, the same year of Ioannina's (the Epeirot capital's) capitulation and following new devastating inroads in the Peloponnese (1423-1431). The new emperor John VIII, on the throne since 1425, was a Latinophile and placed all his hopes to the West. He is best remembered for his desperate attempts to secure the lifting of the ecclesiastical schism between East and West at the Ferrara-Florence Council (1438-1439), which however divided even further the Byzantines into « unionists » and « anti-unionists ». But although dogmatically a failure, that council rekindled the possibilities for another western crusade to save Byzantium, an attempt which was annihilated at Varna (1444), to be coupled by the definitive destruction of the Hungarians under Janos Hunyadi and their allies (except the Serbs !) at the second battle of Kossovo (1448). Only the Albanians, led by their heroic leader George Kastriotes-Skanderbeg (= « Iskender begh », i.e. « bey Alexander »), would repulse the Ottoman invasions of their lands till as late as 1468 [41], when Kastriotes was murdered through Venetian treachery. The Rumanian leader Vlad Tschepesh (the « impaler »), too, was able to hold the Ottoman invasions of Wallachia in check until his own treacherous assassination, in 1476. He was nicknamed « the Devil », and there we find the origins of the stories of « Count Dracula », who was no other than Vlad.

It was the last Byzantine emperor (formerly despot of the Morea), Constantine XII Palaiologos [42], who attempted a final union of the churches but without success. The ascension on the Ottoman throne of Mehmed II (1451-1481) and the latter's methodical preparations to isolate Constantinople from land and sea manifested clearly the Ottoman plan of cutting off the imperial city from all contacts with the West and the Balkans. The celebrated fifty-two-days-long siege (April-May 1453) and the final fall of the Byzantine capital on 29 May invested the triumphant sultan with the title of « Fatih » (« Conqueror »), while, on the other hand, it ended an institution which had survived for over eleven centuries (inclusive of the period of exile, in 1204-1261). The last vestiges of medieval Hellenism followed suit (see chart II of this chapter) and by 1461 the Ottoman domination was uncontestable. The final Ottoman annexations of 1454/1470 (parts of Thessaly and Euboea) and 1479 (parts of Epeiros) only verified a fate already sealed.

Chapter V

Byzantium's cultural contribution to the medieval and modern world : Byzantine language and literature

Only a very limited number of scholars nowadays believe that the contribution of Byzantine civilisation and cultural output was limited and of a mediocre value. Unfounded views, as for example the one maintaining that Byzantine civilisation was in fact nothing more than an inheritance of the Hellenistic age with an additional theological taint and, as such, just a « poor relative » of ancient Greek culture and solely a vehicle through which the latter was transmitted into modern times, may lead in erratic conclusions and gross misinterpretations regarding the cultural creations and achievements on the part of one among the most civilised medieval states — a fact universally acknowledged by scholarship.

Literary achievements. — Indeed, Byzantium's impressive literary output has become widely known ever since the real founder of modern Byzantinology, the German philologist Karl Krumbacher (1856-1909), published his monumental *History of Byzantine literature* in the late 19th century ; since then, important manuals and surveys on the achievements of Byzantine literary figures have been enriching and complementing the pertinent bibliography — particularly those by Hans-Georg Beck (1910-1999), Herbert Hunger (1914-2000), Nicholas Tomadakes (1907-1993), and others, revealing an impressive number of Byzantine authors with a significant output both in prose (theology and hagiology [43], lives of saints, historiography and chronicles, biography, epistolography, popular literature and novels, orations and various treatises, laudatory speeches, etc.) and in verse (hymnography/kontākia, religious poetry, panegyric and scoptic verse, epigrams, drama, etc.). Especially historiography attained a lofty degree of literary merit in Byzantium and several Byzantine historiographers are today studied not only for the historical importance of their works, but also for their superb literary style (an appropriate such example

is the 12th - early 13th century Niketas Choniates, author of a monumental historical account of the years A.D. 1118-1207, but also of important orations, speeches, etc.). In fact, we now possess excellent and meticulous manuals of Byzantine historiography and chronology, like those by the Hungarian byzantinist Gyula Moravcsik (1892-1972), by John Karayannopulos (1922-2000) and Gunther Weiss (d. 1995), and others.

The three Byzantine Greek languages. — The ancient « Attic dialect », the language of philosophy and the literary achievements of ancient Greek thought, constituted a basic element in advanced Byzantine education. On the other hand, the somewhat artificial Byzantine antiquarian dialect, with several elements deriving from the so-called Alexandrian or Hellenistic « common language » (Greek « *koinē* ») [44], is basically encountered in the writings of the Fathers of the Church (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom), as well as in the works of other accomplished ecclesiastical writers on theological issues, from the fourth century onwards (Gregory of Nyssa, etc.). Thirdly, the *vernacular Greek* was the tongue of popular masses in Byzantium for their everyday contacts and transactions, yet this did not stand in the way of certain important authors, who began using it in their works already since the early Byzantine period, like for example the 6th-century Greek-Syrian chronicler John Malalas, regarded the oldest representative of Byzantine chronography in the vernacular tongue of that time [45]. On the contrary, the Latin language, which never prevailed in the Empire's eastern provinces, was only employed in official state documents and legislature for the biggest part of the early Byzantine period, though from the Justinianic Age (6th century) the first laws appeared in Greek and the gradual linguistic Hellenisation had rapidly progressed until the reign of Herakleios, in the first decades of the 7th century. A solid account on the development of the medieval Greek tongue(s) is that by the late Robert Browning (1914-1997).

Ancient Greek and biblical influences on Byzantine authors. — The basic influences of ancient Greek letters on Byzantine authors are two and are evidently connected on the one hand with Homer, the great tragic and comic authors (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes), the two great philosophers (Plato, Aristotle), as well as with the model-historiographers of antiquity (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch), and, on the other, by the Bible (especially the Old Testament). Truly, these two great fountains of ancient knowledge and spirit were abundantly utilised by Byzantine authors in innumerable parallelisms and allegorical

On Byzantine chronography and the basic characteristics of Byzantine writers

« History in the classical manner, with speeches, grand descriptive passages, serious study of the causes and effects of events, was written by men who clearly saw themselves as the heirs of Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius... Side by side with these historians... a new type of history made its appearance. This was the chronicle, which surveyed the history of the world from the creation or some other arbitrary early date to the time of the writer. The chroniclers were not interested in establishing casual links or in exploring the relations between the character of a statesman and his acts. They had little feeling for the much-prized art of rhetoric, and did not insert fictitious speeches into their narrative. Their language was not consistently atticising, but rather macaronic, with many elements of vocabulary, morphology and syntax belonging to the spoken language of the time, and carefully avoided by classicizing writers. Their view of history... was naively theological — misfortune was considered a punishment for sin — and their characters were black and white, either good or evil. They were uncritical and undiscriminating in the choice of events they narrated, and included much that was trivial or sensational. The chronicles... were written to entertain as much as to edify, and... were addressed to a readership which was fully literate but whose taste was uninfluenced by the high culture of the classically educated. They were manifestations of a popular culture, firmly Christian in tone, ignorant of classical tradition, eager for information but uncritical in handling it. They provided an answer to the naïve questions of the man in the street about the past of the society in which he lived. »

(R. Browning, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1980, p. 34-35.)

« It should be understood that Byzantium was a particular world whose cultural profile consists of secular and religious, of scholarly and vernacular elements, blended into a unified and indivisible image. The Byzantine author is clearly to be differentiated from his ancient Greek counterpart. While in ancient Greece autiors usually tackled a single kind of speech — being only poets or only rhetors or only historiographers — in Byzantium the author of diverse works makes his appearance. In the person of the same scholar one encounters the theologian and the philologist, the historiographer and the rhetor, the poet of secular verse and the hymnographer. Quite often the same author writes in various linguistic types, in poetic (Homeric) language, in Attic Greek, in the Hellenistic koinē, in ecclesiastical or in vernacular language, as for example Michael Psellos and Theodore Prodromos... One could say that the type of the Byzantine scholar lies nearer to the type of the modern Greek (Neohellene), than the type of the ancient writer. »

(Th. Detorakes, *Byzantine philology*, vol. I, Herakleion, 1995, p. 18-19, in Greek, trans. A.S.)

Hellenic influence of education in Byzantium

« The Byzantine state was based on Roman state traditions... yet as far as culture and education were concerned, it quickly came under the decisive influence of Hellenism. Initially, the state's population was to a large extent Graecophone, with its authors and its cultural traditions, which influenced and hellenised several foreigners, especially from the seventh century onwards... In the East few Greeks knew Latin : these were scholars, judges or other state officials. All the rest, Christians or gentiles (« ethnikoi ») who harboured cultural aspirations, knew and wrote in ancient Greek... Since even Gregory of Nazianzus confessed his ignorance of Latin, we may safely deduce that few Greeks actually learned it. »

(C. Amantos, *History of the Byzantine state*, vol. I, 3rd ed., Athens, 1963, p. 52, in Greek, trans. A.S.)

The last Athenian historiographer of the Middle Ages, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, fortells the rebirth of medieval Hellenism

« Let it be not held against us that we have narrated these events in the Hellenic tongue, for the language of the Hellenes has spread to many places around the world and had mingled with many others. Its present glory is great and it will be even greater in the future, when a Greek emperor will again rule over a not inconsiderable dominion and his imperial descendants will gather together the offspring of the Hellenes and govern them according to their own customs, in a manner pleasing to them and authoritative to others. »

(Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *« Demonstrations of Histories »*, trans. N. Nikoloudes.)

notions, in the course of the medieval era ; for example, the just Byzantine ruler was compared not only with Pericles or Aristeides, but also with Moses or king Solomon, while the brave imperial *« stratelātes »* (archgeneral) was not only a « second Alexander » or « Miltiades », but moreo-

ver a « second David » or « Joshua », etc. In addition, Constantinople or « New Rome », the Empire's new capital from A.D. 324 (or, more correctly, from A.D. 330, when officially inaugurated by Constantine I as such), was also described as « New Jerusalem » and « New Sion » [46] — likewise the political and cultural capital of the Islamic world from the 8th century onward, Baghdad, was « Babylon » for the Byzantines, while in post-Byzantine times Moscow would become « Third Rome », echoing, of course, the inherent hopes of enslaved Hellenism for its deliberation from Turkish yoke by its Russian fellow-Orthodox Christians.

Education. — Ignorance of the Scriptures was, according to John Chrysostom, the main cause of all evils and tribulations of the Byzantine Empire. In fact, in all three levels of Byzantine education (basic : *« enkȳklios paīdeusis »*, middle : *« enkȳklia grāmmata »* / *« grammatikē »* and higher), the ancient authors as well as the Bible and various Patristic and other ecclesiastical texts were taught extensively.

The importance of learning

« Every man who thinks rightly recognises that education and learning — either ecclesiastical or secular — constitute the most important achievement in life. »

(Gregory of Nazianzus, 4th c. A.D., trans. A.S.)

Higher education, on the other hand, reached quite an advanced level, especially after the foundation of the University of Constantinople, or « School of all Sciences » (Greek *« Pandidaktērion »*), in A.D. 425, with no more — no less than ten chairs of Greek philosophy and two of Roman jurisprudence. In the 11th century the University of Constantinople was drastically reorganised and great scholars of that time taught in it, like the *« nomophylax »* John Xiphilinos from Pontic Trebizond (the Patriarch John VIII in 1064-1075) and the « consul of philosophers » (*« hȳpatos ton philosōphon »*), the polymath Michael Psellos (d. *post* 1078).

Chapter VI

Byzantium's fundamental institution : imperial absolutism

The Byzantine monarch was considered the representative and upholder of all divine wishes and rules on earth and, therefore, his powers, prerogatives and interventions were in fact unlimited, not only on the secular sphere, but also on the ecclesiastical one. In fact, commencing with Constantine I the Great, several Byzantine rulers, regarded by their subjects as the undisputed images of God's « Word » (*« Lōgos »*) on earth, clashed with the ecclesiastical authorities of their Empire, thus inaugurating what was later termed *« Caesaropapism »*, i.e., the obligatory (sometimes even violent) implementation of the emperor's (« caesar's ») wishes on those of the Church authorities (the « pope's » — in fact, the patriarch's).

The Byzantine ruler's all-embracing powers. — Thus, as an ecumenical leader and representative of God on earth « by divine right » (Greek *« elēo Theoū »*), this « all powerful » and « all-kingly » monarch (*« pambasileus »*, *« pantokrātor »*) was the only legitimate ruler to govern the fortunes of the entire Christian world through his undisputedly « God-sent » capacities, and preserve the universal peace. Time and time again most Byzantine texts present the head of the Empire as God-sent (*« theōpemptos »*), a God-promoted ruler (*« theoprōbletos ārchon »*), equal to the Apostles or the Thirteenth Apostle (*« isapōstolos »* / *« dēkatos trītos apōstolos »*), guardian of the faith (*« phylax tes pīsteos »*), representative of the Almighty (*« apestalmēnos tou Pantodynāmou »*), as most divine himself in Christ and by the Lord's will (*« theiōtatos en Christō to Theô elēo Kyrīou »*), etc. As there was only one God and a single Divine Law (*« Theīos Nōmos »*) in the Heavens, thus God's annointed representative, equal to the Apostles, had received the godly mission to supervise the upholding of that divine law, with the collaboration and approval of the Church and the clergy, of the Senate, of the army and his officials, but also

with that of his people, who were nevertheless obliged to excercise complete obedience and absolute faith in him.

Constantine the Great launches Christian « Caesaropapism »

« Constantine himself admitted that only a Council of bishops could pronounce on theological affairs. But it was for him, he thought, to summon the Council ; with his special relationship to God, he could guide it and dominate it. »

(S. Runciman, *The Byzantine theocracy*, Cambridge, 1977, p. 24.)

Constantine the Great's « Pax Romana »

« An everlasting peace prevailed throughout the world [= Pax Romana], *since only one emperor prevailed in the entire Roman land* [= Constantine I, in A.D. 324]. *Thus in this way and under such auspicious circumstances, two God-sent roots of blessing sprang for the good of mankind, that is, Roman domination as well as the pious teaching* [of Christianity]. »

(Eusebius of Caesarea, *« On the thirtieth anniversary of basileus Constantine »*, A.D. 336, trans. A.S.)

The Christian empire's « divine » provenance, as well as its portrayal as the earthly images of the heavenly kingdom, initially present in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, was first systematically projected by the quill of the father of Orthodox ecclesiastical historiography, admirer and biographer of Constantine the Great, namely Eusebius of Caesarea (in Palestine). The latter, representing with political expediency the interests of the social classes he advocated, i.e. secular power and a section of the upper ecclesiastical hierarchy, promoted the theory according to which the Eastern Christian monarch was the lawful heir and continuator of the Roman caesars as well as of the ancient rulers of the Hellenistic Orient.

Indeed, Eusebius' theory, by means of its excesses and limitless eulogy, facilitated the task of later Byzantine monarchs, as well as that of the ruling

classes in the Empire, to impose the view that in fact the emperor was answerable only to God, thus placing himself above human laws and becoming supreme judge as well as boundless legislator (thus the famous phrase of the 4th-century rhetor, Themistius, who termed the emperor « living law » — *« nōmos ēmpsychos »*). In this way, the emperor's holy task would be to unite, unify and pacify the Christian world (*oikoumēne*) like a divine arbiter.

The Roman Christian ideology in Byzantium

« The Byzantines received from the Romans and developed the Christian Roman idea... Up to the end of the (Byzantine) Empire this notion was prevalent in the political theory of the Greeks of Byzantium... The Christianised Roman idea manifested itself in Byzantium through Oecumenicity and the Byzantine Peace (Pax Byzantina). Until its end the world of the Greek Empire considered it as the only undisputed earthly rule, with the various barbarian populations, the " nations ", revolving around it. »

(D. Zakythenos, *Byzantium : state and society*, Athens, 1951, in Greek, trans. A.S.)

Gradually the Byzantine emperor's absolutism (*« apolytarchīa »*) grew beyond control : he enjoyed boundless prerogatives in military and administrative matters, in appointments, promotions or even firings of state officials, in favourable or condemning verdicts in law courts, in ultimate decisions upon undertaking expeditions, declaring war, signing treaties or truces with foreign rulers — the latter always considered inferior to his lofty position in the framework of international relations, etc. However, another aspect in the course of his divine tasks and obligations, promoted the emperor's moral side : he should be characterised by philanthropic feelings, pronounce justice on the wronged ones, see to the welfare of his subjects, as well as to the preservation of the unity in the state and the Church. In short, he should be the everlastingly « alert eye » over his innumerable subjects, a « birds'-eye-view » over his vast dominions.

Chapter VII

The Byzantine Orthodox Church

Orthodoxy up to the end of Iconoclasm. — The reign of Constantine I the Great (306/324-337) is a watershed for the history of Hellenism : his recognition of Christianity as a legal religion in the framework of his new East-Roman State added a new dimension to the legacy of Hellenic culture and Roman legal traditions. In fact, Byzantium was born. For the Christians themselves, the transformation — and consequent adaptation — was enormous : they lost their status as persecuted enemies of the Empire, and indeed soon occupied all top positions of the Empire, sometimes becoming — in their turn — persecutors. This newly found power opened the door also for diversity, controversies and heresies, within the bossom of the Church. After Theodosius I's edict of Thessalonica practically elevated Christianity to the official State Religion, the development of Christian worship started for good.

The monastic life of the first Eastern monks, among whom Anthony (251-356) is the most known thanks to the writings of Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria, became especially important in the upper valley of the Nile. The life of the ascetic monks took different forms : « dendrites » lived in trees ; « stylites » on top of pillars ; « Adamites » threw away their clothes, until, finally, Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea (330-379), reacted against these eccentricities.

Heresy versus Orthodoxy was, however, the greatest challenge for Eastern Christianity [47]. The 4th and 5th centuries were marked by the formation of the Creed. Thus, an Alexandrian priest, Arius (Areios), was excommunicated in 318, because he supported the position that the Son was begat by the Father, thus had a beginning, and was not of the same nature as the Father. The Council of Nicaea (325), where about 300 bishops gathered, confirmed the condemnation of Arius, declared Father and Son *homoousioi* (of the same nature), and thus published the famous Nicene Creed. But

Glossary

I. Doctrines :

Orthodoxy : the « right doctrine ». This term is applied for the Eastern Churches in general. Some Monophysite churches (e.g. the Copts) separated from Orthodoxy during the 5th century, but continued — until today — to consider themselves as part of the « Orthodox » world. In 1054, Orthodoxy and Catholicism separated.

Roman-Catholicism : the Latin (Western) Church considered the pope of Rome as their leader, and was often, because of historical as well as theological factors, in conflict with the Eastern (Orthodox) Church(es). Protestantism (in the 16th century) and Anglicanism (from 1559) separated from the Catholic Church. « Catholicism » means « overall doctrine ».

Heresies : deviations from the generally accepted doctrine of the Church, as stated in synods or councils. The most important heresies during the Byzantine period were Arianism (4th cent.), Nestorianism and Monophysitism (5th cent.). One should not confuse *heresy* with *schism* (the separation of Orthodox and Catholic Churches).

II. Titles :

Patriarch : leader of the Orthodox Church. There were originally 4 Eastern patriarchs, i.e. in Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. The bishop of Rome (Pope) is patriarch of the West.

Pope : the bishop of Rome became the leader of the Roman-Catholic Church. The title of « Pope » is also held by the patriarch of Alexandria.

*Bishop (*Greek *episkopos) :* orig. overseer ; head of a diocese.

*Abbot (*Greek *abbās) :* father ; head of monastery (especially in Egypt as well as in the West).

Archimandrite : head of monastery in the East (since 4th century).

it was only in 381, at the Council of Constantinople, that the Arian crisis was solved.

Another important controversy was the christological one : how were God and man united in Christ ? Several Councils (Ephesos, 431 ; Ephesos, 449 = the « Robber Synod » ; the Council of Chalcedon, 451) were needed to resolve the problem. Christ's two natures were acknowledged : two natures, without confusion, change, separation or division.

The Great Church Fathers and Teachers

Apostolic Fathers : Christian writers who were living in the time of the Apostles or were their pupils : Clemens, Romanus, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarpus of Smyrna, Papias of Hieropolis and the anonymous authors of the Didachē, the letter of Barnabas, the martyr death of Polycarpus and the Epistle to Diognetos.

Church Fathers : Christian ecclesiastic writers, being recognised by the Church as « great ecumenical teachers ». The Eastern Church thus honoured : Basil the Great (ca. 330-379), Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329-390), John Chrysostom (354-407). The Western Church added another five names : Ambrosius (ca. 333-397), Hieronymus (ca. 347-419/420), Augustine (354-430), Gregory the Great (pope : 590-604), Athanasios (295-373).

Church Teachers : in addition to the above a number of Byzantine and Latin (Western) bishops and scholars have been recognised by the church as « teachers », e.g. Cyril of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, John of Damascus, Thomas Aquinas, and others.

However, the Council of Chalcedon (451) did not bring lasting unity to the Eastern Church. Indeed, while the Greek Byzantine Church supported the two natures of Christ (= typical for *Orthodoxy*), several groups broke away to form the *Monophysite* churches (e.g. Copts in Egypt, Chalcedonians in Syria). *Nestorianism*, the opposite form of Monophysitism, was adopted in Persia, and from there, Persian Nestorian missionaries spread Christianity as far as Central Asia and China. Orthodoxy's *pure doctrine* was not only based upon the Biblical and Apostolic writings, but also upon

the Church Fathers and the Great Christian teachers of the first centuries, who through their writings coined Christian thinking and traditions.

Schism or heresy ?

« Schism is not heresy. It is, however, its first cousin, and important breaches need to be mentioned in passing, for often there were principles of doctrine behind them. Novationism, Donatism and Meletianism were three faces of a single schism, based on the contention that consecrations and baptisms by unworthy ministers were invalid.

» During the persecution by the Emperor Decius in 250, thousands of Christians apostasized but sought readmission to the Church once the danger was past. Cornelius, bishop of Rome, was prepared to readmit them, but Novatian, an impeccably orthodox presbyter of the Roman Church, opposed leniency and was appointed rival bishop of Rome, rebaptising those who sided with him. The movement was heretical in so far as it allied with the Montanists, and lasted till the fifth century in Rome and somewhat longer in Constantinople.

» The Donatists took up a similar position after the Diocletian persecution fifty years later. A " traditor " who had given way under persecution was consecrated bishop of Carthage in 311, and one who had remained faithful was consecrated rival bishop to him and was succeeded by Donatus in 316. The Donatists, claiming at one time as many as 270 bishops, maintained their separate identity probably until the Moslem invasion of the seventh century, successfully resisting pressure by both the Catholic Church and the imperial power. The Meletians were an Egyptian branch of the Donatists, taking their name from Meletius, a bishop. The Donatists were in the main orthodox, although some of them were tinged with Arianism, and the Meletians adopted the Monophysitism of the Coptic Church. »

(D. Christie-Murray, *A history of Heresy*, Oxford - New York, 1989, p. 96.)

The most deeply rooted religious crisis which affected the Byzantine Empire, was Iconoclasm (Greek « *Eikonomachīa* »), the quarrel between

supporters of the icons (*ikonōdouloi*) and those who wanted to destroy them as idols (*ikonoklāstai*). The latter ones counted their followers among a large part of the leading class as well as amongst the Christians in the East, who were perhaps influenced by Islam's denial of the use of pictures. The Isaurian emperors, Leo III (717-741) and Constantine V (741-775), tried to impose Iconoclasm, thus beginning a hard fight, which continued until 843, when a synod in Constantinople definitively restored the cult of icons, thus providing victory to its supporters, the monks, for whom the sale of pictures was also a source of income.

Missionaries and monks. — From Egypt's monasticism, to which we have referred previously, in due time and as a result of St. Basil of Caesarea in Asia Minor (4th century), a flourishing monastic tradition was to develop in the East. Palestine and Syria became monastic centres, but were checked by the Islamic invasion in the 7th century. During the early years of this century and already one century earlier, spiritual works were written by Cyril of Scythopolis, John Moschos and John Klimakos. Translated into Slavonic, these works transmitted the monastic tradition amongst the Slavs of the Balkans and Russia. Indeed as a result of the missionary zeal of two brothers from Thessalonica, Constantine-Cyril and Methodios, Orthodoxy was spread from A.D. 862-863 onwards among the Slavs and gradually became the leading religion in Eastern Europe and Russia up to our days.

In Byzantium itself one should mention especially Saint Theodore the Studite (ca. 750-826), who drew mainly on the ascetic writings of Saint Basil of Caesarea. Theodore, who had moved from Bithynia (northwestern Asia Minor) to the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople (where he became its abbot), was a staunch defender of the icons at the time of the iconoclastic controversy. He developed the Studite House into a rich and powerful monastic centre, advocating moderation when practicing asceticism, while he has left important theological treatises on cardinal issues of his times ; his numerous epistles, on the other hand, are a veritable mine of information with interesting details on some of his contemporaries.

The most famous Orthodox Byzantine centers of medieval monasticism were without doubt Sinai, Mount Athos and Meteora. Mount Athos (in Chalkidikē, Northern Greece) was already the home of hermits during the 4th and 5th centuries. The monasteries as such were properly organised in the 10th century by Athanasios the Athonite. Since that time the number of monasteries grew, and by 1213 they numbered several. They were centres of theology and scholarship with important libraries, preserving beautiful

and valuable manuscripts. Moreover, Mount Athos is also famous for its art (architecture and paintings).

Sinai, the mountain where Moses had received the Ten Commandments, is home to the famous monastery of Saint Catherine, which was founded by emperor Justinian between 548 and 566. The rocky mountains of Meteora (in Thessaly, central Greece) are home to a number of monasteries, of which the first one was instituted before the 11th century. Its zenith started in the 13th century. It received numerous privileges during the 14th century, and it was also a bullwork against incursions and robbers. It became a real centre of theological thought, mainly after the fall of Constantinople (1453).

Late Byzantine development of Orthodoxy. — One should not forget the contribution made by later bishops, and Orthodox intellectuals. Here, one of the difficult balances to maintain was the reading and study of the ancient Greek writers and philosophers, versus the Church's doctrine, the latter one always being suspicious of individuals, too much involved with « dangerous » paganism. While Michael Psellos (1018 - *post* 1078) knew how to keep a balance, John Italos, Psellos' successor as « professor » in Constantinople's university, crossed the line and was condemned for heretical views during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos.

Outside Greek-speaking Byzantium proper, it was more difficult to check theological thinking : thus the development of *Bogomilism* in 10th century Bulgaria (a dualist heresy, akin to Asia Minor's *Paulicianism*). This doctrine was connected with anti-Byzantine feelings. Anti-hesychast propaganda even linked it — most probably without substance — with Mount Athos in the 14th century.

For Byzantium, *Hesychasm* itself (closely linked to Mount Athos) was not without controversy, and divided society in pro- and anti-hesychasts, the two main opponents being Gregory Palamas (1294-1359), who in 1347 became archbishop of the Zealot-controlled Thessalonica, and the Calabrian monk Barlaam (1290-1348). Hesychasm's purpose was to unite one's spiritual thoughts with God through contemplation. Gregory Sinaites (*floruit* 1346) is considered to be the father of hesychasm, while Gregory Palamas's interpretation is often understood as *quietism*.

Orthodoxy and the Pope. — The history of Greek Orthodoxy and the Byzantine Church is also marked by its environment and political circumstances. While originally the bishops of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria had primacy, during the course of the 4th and 5th centuries, the Church

became obliged to follow the political pattern, and Jerusalem and Constantinople were added to the great Oriental patriarchates. The Ecumenical Councils of Constantinople (381) and Chalcedon (451) recognised the special status of Constantinople as the imperial seat. The first seven of the general (Ecumenical) Councils were recognised by all patriarchates. Since the 9th century, the rivalry between the Latin West and the Greek East grew, and led to the rift between Photios, patriarch of Constantinople (858-867 and 879-886) and popes Nicholas I, Hadrian II and John VIII. The rift was the result of disunity about the use of the *filioque* as well as of a number of personality conflicts. However, a lasting schism was avoided. In 1054, nevertheless, Michael I Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople (1043-1058), finally broke terms with Rome.

The authority of the Byzantine Patriarch in the eleventh century

« The growing strength of the Byzantine Church in the eleventh century was reflected in the policy and personality of Michael Cerularios [Keroularios]. The achievement of complete independence of Rome was only part of his programme and equally important in his eyes was a modification in the relations between Church and State in Constantinople itself... The Emperor was responsible for ruling the State, and the Church was to be the concern of the Patriarch alone, which, if judged by Byzantine standards, denoted an enormous increase in ecclesiastical authority. »

(G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 339-340.)

The devastation of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204, aggravated the rift between the Latin Papacy and the Eastern Orthodox Church, especially when the Latins wanted to impose papal authority. During the reign of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Henry of Flanders (1206-1216), Catholics and Orthodox (with Nicholas Mesarites as their main ambassador) tried in vain to overcome their differences. Hence, *hēnosis* (union) with Rome became a toy for political gain, especially during the last centuries of the dying Byzantine Empire. Although at the council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439), a union between Rome and the Greek Church was proclaimed, in fact the Churches failed to reunite. The fall of Constantinople (1453) and the appointment of Georgios Scholarios-

Gennadios II as patriarch of Constantinople by the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed II the « Conqueror », made the union between Western and Eastern Christianity virtually impossible. The « Great Church in Captivity » (according to the late Sir Steven Runciman's apt term for the Patriarchate in the period of the Tourkokratia) had entered a new phase of its history.

Chapter VIII

Byzantium and its neighbours : a « cataclysm » of adversaries

It has been observed that the Byzantine Empire sustained more numerous and persistent attacks than any other medieval state. These attacks originated from a variety of Iranophone, Germanophone, Turkophone (Turanic), Arabophone and Slavophone peoples, races and tribes, as shown in the chart of this chapter. Most Byzantine authors adopted the term « barbarians » (*« bārbaroi »*) when referring to the adversaries of other peoples outside the Christian orbit of the Empire, though this term has been used far too excessively by modern scholars, who by designating the Empire's neighbours as « barbarians » actually portray the latter as politically and culturally inferior to the « Rhomaic » Byzantine world. This does not necessarily coincide with the medieval Greek usage of this term and its derivatives (e.g. *« barbarikaī chōrai »* / barbarian lands, *« barbarikaī glōssai »* / barbarian languages, etc.).

The Empire's frontiers, especially on the North (river Danube) and the East (river Euphrates) rarely remained steady for long periods ; Byzantium reached its greatest territorial extent (apart from the early period under Constantine I and his successors) under Justinian I in the mid-6th century, under the Macedonian Basil II the « Bulgarslayer » in the early 11th century as well as under the Komnenian dynasty (late 11th - late 12th century), while in its final years, under the Palaiologan dynasty, Byzantium's territorial acquisitions were drastically limited (apart from the independent Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond and some pockets in Epeiros and Thessaly) to Constantinople itself with its surroundings, the Despotate of the Morea and some islands in the northern Aegean. However, even during the period of its greatest territorial extent, the Byzantine Empire did not manage to reach the borders set by the Roman Emperor Trajan (A.D. 98-117) in the East (river Tigris) and the North (Dacia, in present-day Rumania), when the Roman Empire had reached its greatest territorial expansion.

A state of almost incessant military alertness forced Byzantine rulers, for the most part of the Empire's duration, to maintain numerous and well-trained forces in constant vigilance. Towards the final section of the middle Byzantine period, however (10th - early 11th centuries), imperial troops were supported by large contingents of mercenaries (Gr. « *misthophōroi* »), who were foreigners (« *alloethneīs* ») and were gradually to contribute to the degeneration of the national character of the medieval Greek armies. This resulted in countless defeats in the late Byzantine period. Such mercenaries were the Goths, Armenians and « Iberians » (Georgians), Slavs, Varangians from Scandinavia and Russia, Turkophone peoples, etc. [48].

Germans and other Westerners. — By far the most populous were the Germanophone (Germanic) and the Turkophone (Turanic/Turkic) neighbours of the Empire. By Germanic we refer to the Indo-European peoples of the early Middle Ages, like the Goths (Ostrogoths, i.e. Goths of the East and Visigoths, i.e. Goths of the West), Alemanni, Vandals, Thuringians, Gepids, Marcomanni, Burgundians, Eruls, Quadi (all being either pagans or Arians), and moreover the Suevi, Franks, Lombards (Longobards) and Anglo-Saxons (all these in turn being either pagan or Roman Catholic). The European descendants of the above peoples were the Germans (united under the banner of the Holy Roman Empire, known among Germans as the « First Reich »), the Normans, the Flemish, the Scandinavians, the Iberians (Spaniards and Portuguese) and the Italians — chiefly Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Amalfitans and others, the latter four being directly or indirectly involved in the Byzantine Empire's economic decline from the late 11th century onwards.

Turks in the East and the Balkans. — The highly successful term « Turkophone » peoples, introduced by the notable Hungarian byzantinist Gyula Moravcsik in 1942-1943 through his monumental manual on *Byzantinoturcica*, was applied to the centro-Asiatic peoples (either of the Uralo-Altaic or of the Finno-Ungrian confederation), who came either in hostile or peaceful contacts with Byzantium by means of the Russian steppes and central Asia as well as of the paths of the Middle and Near East. Among them a preponderant rôle was played by the Huns, as well as the Kotrigurs, Utrigurs, Sabiri, Avars [49], Onogur Bulgars or Protobulgars [50], Oghuz Turks of the Altai mountains, Khazars, Uzes, Patzinaks or Petchenegs, Cumans or Komans (known to the Russians as « Polovtsians » [51] and to the Muslims as « Kiptchaks »), Hungarians or Magyars, the Seljuk and Danishmendid Turks, the Artukid Turkomans, the Turkomans of the Anatolian

Byzantium's adversaries (chronologically)

Western front	Northern front	Eastern front
Early Germanic peoples (Goths, etc.)	Goths	Persians (Sassanids)
Vandals	Slavonic peoples (Sclaveni, etc.)	Moslems (Arabs) and « Saracens »
Lombards	Turkophone peoples (Huns, Avars, Kotrigurs, Onogur Bulgars, Patzinaks/Petchenegs, Cumans)	Early Turks (central Asia)
Franks	Bulgars (after Christianisation)	Seljuk Turks
Normans	Rus/Russians (of Scandinavian origin)	Turkomans of Anatolia
Crusaders	Patzinaks/Petchenegs, Cumans, Uzes	Ottoman Turks
Venetians	Magyars (Hungarians)	
Genoese	Serbs	

Byzantine « antiquated » appellations of Turkophone peoples

— Skȳthai/Skythians = Huns ; also later : Uzes, Patzinaks, Cumans.
— Skȳthai/Scythians, Moisoī/Moesians = Bulgars.
— Paīones/Paeonians, Toūrkoi/Turks = Magyars/Hungarians.
— Tauroskȳthai/Scythians of the Tauris (= Crimea) = Khazars.
— Pērsai/Persians, Agarenoī/Agarenes, Ismaelītae/Ishmaelites = Danishmendids, Artukids, Seljuks, Turkomans, Ottomans.
— Tōcharoi/Mongols (Ta[r]tars).

Emirates in the late 13th and 14th centuries, the Ottoman Turks and the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria. On the other hand, only in part Turkophone were the Mongols (« *Tōcharoi* » in Byzantine sources), often associated (not always accurately) with the Ta(r)tars.

Slavs, Persians and Arabs. — Finally, on the northern front Byzantium came into contact with the various Slavophone/Slavonic peoples termed « *Sklavenoī* » in Byzantine sources, whose descendants in subsequent centuries were the Slavs of the later Middle Ages, like the Serbs (12th-15th centuries) ; on the Oriental front, apart from the Turks Byzantium had to face the Sassanid Persians and their eventual conquerors in the mid 7th century, i.e. the Islamic/Muslim Arabs, variably termed as « Mousoulmānoi », « Sarakenoī » (Saracens), « Agarenoī » (Agarenes) and « Ismaelītai » (Ishmaelites) in Byzantine texts. Indeed, we are very well informed regarding Byzantium's neighbouring peoples and national entities through an impressive array of medieval Greek writers, most of them being higher state administrative officials and diplomats, like Priscus from Panion (Thrace), who shortly before the middle of the 5th century visited Attila's court and provided important details on the customs and tactics of the Huns, Procopius of Caesarea, the great historiographer of Justinian I's era in the 6th century, and in later centuries many more, like the « consul of philosophers » Michael Psellos (11th) and Niketas Choniates (12th - early 13th), both members of the imperial political and administrative hierarchy.

Antiquated appelations. — Although it is an undeniable fact that the above authors were very well informed regarding the external affairs of the Empire (being often in the position to gain access to precious official documents and their sources), the modern researcher should, however, make a rather cautious usage of the terminology employed by Byzantine authors in designating foreign peoples and nations, since they were decisively influenced regarding terminology by their ancient Greek and Hellenistic models, i.e. the celebrated historiographers of antiquity (Herodotus, Thucydides, etc.). Thus it is often that the Goths, the Huns and the Bulgars appear in these texts as « *Skȳthai* » (Scythians), the Serbs as « *Triballoī* » (Triballians), the Albanians as « *Illyrioī* » (Illyrians), the various Turks as « *Pērsai* » (Persians) [52] and — together with other Muslims, as « Agarenes », « Ismaelites », « Saracens », etc., as the above chart illustrates.

Chapter IX

Byzantino-Africana : the Byzantines in Africa and Byzantine influence upon African states

Byzantium and North Africa. — After having occupied Spain (the Iberian peninsula), the Germanic tribe of the Vandals crossed in A.D. 429 into Africa under their king, Gaiseric or Genseric, their invasion being facilitated by the rival war between the Western Roman Empire and Boniface, military governor (*comes*) of Africa. In 435, the Vandals were allowed as *foederati* in Numidia. In 439 Gaiseric captured Carthage in a treacherous way and, in 442, the Western Roman emperor, Valentinian III (423-455), recognised the Vandal kingdom in Africa. When Valentinian was murdered (455), Gaiseric attacked Italy and plundered Rome. An expedition in 468 by the Byzantine emperor, Leo I the Thracian, was a dismal failure and Leo's successor, the Isaurian Zeno, was obliged to acknowledge Vandal independence of all the territories under their control, in 476 (i.e. Roman Africa, the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, Corsica and Lilybaeum in Sicily).

When Gaiseric died in 477, the Vandal kingdom had reached its zenith. The Romans in Africa were treated as conquered subjects, could not intermarry with their conquerors and — in Zeugitana at least — were dispossessed of their estates. However, Roman administrative divisions were retained, and the Romans were ruled in accordance with Roman law, although under supervision of the Vandal ruler. The Vandals, being Arians, did not succeed in gaining the loyalty of their Roman subjects.

The Vandals remained generally on friendly terms with the Byzantine Empire, but the deposition of Hilderic and the accession of Gelimer, in 530, inaugurated an anti-Roman (anti-Byzantine) policy, giving to Justinian I the pretext to invade Africa. The reconquest of North Africa by the Byzantine troops of Belisarius (533-534) ended with the surrender of Gelimer, who was paraded in a « triumph » in Constantinople. Yet, the African Moors (Berbers), who had not been subdued by the Vandals, were only defeated in 539, but revolted again between 546-548 [53]. Byzantine authori-

ty was restored over North Africa only in 578, with the exception of Mauretania, Caesarensis and Tingitana, but never regained its previous prosperity. Temporarily unified under the « Exarchate » of Carthage (A.D. 591-697/698), North Africa remained in Byzantine hands until eventually overrun by the Muslim Arabs, after the latter had conquered Byzantine Egypt, between 639 and 642. The rivalries between Arians and Catholics as well as the permanent resistance of the Moors (Berbers) against Christianity, Vandals and Byzantines alike, contributed to the speed and relative easiness, with which the Muslim conquest took place.

Egypt under late-Roman/Byzantine rule. — Egypt's history in antiquity was always separated from the rest of Africa. The same holds true for Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Already under the first Roman emperor, Augustus (27 B.C. - A.D. 14), Egypt enjoyed a special status as an imperial province under a prefect of equestrian rank, directly answerable to the emperor. Diocletian, as well as Constantine I paid special attention to Egypt. In 297, Diocletian had a survey of Roman Egypt drawn up ; under Constantine and throughout the 4th century, the old traditional forms of land possessions (e.g. crown land, sacred land) were transformed into private ownership. Such « privatisation », however, was not accompanied by urban expansion and — in fact — Egypt's situation remained peculiar in the sense that the private holdings remained small as compared to the very large estates of Western Europe, even so during the 4th century. It was in that very century that the ancient system (e.g. ephebic and gymnasia) died out, while the privileged position of the Greeks was already destroyed by the Diocletianic tax system. Under Constantius II, Julian and Valens, the so-called « capitation » system was introduced, according to which all taxes and charges had henceforth an abstract value as a base for assessment.

Byzantine Egypt had a rather fluid connotation as for its (geographic) definition as a diocese (*diocesa*). Thus, the Byzantine *Notitiae* of the 6th century divided Egypt in administrative units, which point to the fluidity of the Roman regions in north-eastern Africa. In 535, Justinian's *Notitia* (in *Novella* VIII) divided Egypt administratively into four imperial regions (Greek « *archaī hegemonikaī* ») and one consular (« *archē hypatikē* »). The former consisted of Upper Libya, Egypt Prima, Egypt Secunda and Augustannica Secunda, the consular one being that of Augustannica Prima. Later sources somewhat deviate from this division. The administrative divisions of Egypt shed some light on the Byzantine outposts in Africa, the easternmost city being Rhinocorura. It seems that the Byzantines had lost their

authority over the coastal Red Sea cities (e.g. Berenike), although Christian authorities continued to exist there, also continuing to exercise Byzantine influence until the Muslim conquest.

The westernmost city of the northern coast was Tripolis, while the western borderline of continental Thebais remained very fluid. In the South (the Nile Valley), Diocletian had abandoned the Roman *limes* of fortresses and the Romans had retreated to the first cataract, the border city of Philae being restored to the local Nobadae, worshippers of Isis. The history of this *limes* is determined by Byzantium's relations with the African peoples and tribes, living in the African « periphery » — to be examined in the following pages.

In the course of the Byzantine-Sassanid war of 619 (622)-628, the Persians under king Chosroes II (590-628) first occupied Egypt, but were then expelled again by the Byzantines under emperor Herakleios I (610-641). Byzantine Egypt ceased to exist when the Arab Muslims defeated the Byzantine army at Heliopolis (near Cairo), leading to the relatively rapid conquest of the whole region (639-642). The final defeat of the Byzantines was partly due to the passive attitude of the Egyptian Christians, being Monophysite Copts (Gr. « *Kōptai* », for Egyptians), while the eventual loss of Byzantium's most important granary (Egypt) had far-reaching results for the Eastern Empire's economy.

Byzantine Egypt and the Beja (Blemmyes). — First the Romans, and then their Byzantine successors, confronted on their African frontier a number of tribes, of which our knowledge is based on Roman and Byzantine Greek texts as well as on papyri and inscriptions, coming from kings, « kinglets » and dignitaries of these tribes themselves. The Beja *sensu stricto* (mentioned as *Bega*, *Blēm(m)yes* or *Bougaeītai*) were a people of so-called Hamitic origins, living near the Red Sea from Mersa Sha 'ab on the Egyptian border to Ras Kasar in the Sudan. The term « *Beja* » (and its variants) is however also used to indicate collectively all the inhabitants of these regions. They are mentioned in the sources as raiders into Roman/Byzantine Egypt and as foes of the Axumite kings [54] from the 3rd to the 6th centuries. Relatively little information on the dynasties and individual rulers has survived. The famous Gebeleïn documents, preserved on gazelle leather and most probably dating from the 6th century, mention at least three « kinglets » (Greek « *basilīskoi* »), who ruled in the region of Philae : Pakatimne, Charachen and Barachia. Also, the deeds of two enemy kings, the Beja Phonen, and the king of the Noubades, Silko (5th century), are partially known.

Presents to the King of Meroë

« Then, the envoys of the Sêroi [China] presented themselves, offering threads and woven clothes of their place, one dress of purple colour and one completely white. The king accepted their gifts and agreed to their request that some fellow countrymen of theirs, who had been condemned and were from then onwards in prison, be set free. Later came the ambassadors of Arabia Felix and they filled the place with the beautiful scent of spices, cassia and cinnamon and of the other very expensive perfumes which make the earth of Arabia smell deliciously. Afterwards the envoys of the Troglodytes presented themselves offering gold, unearthed by ants, and a couple of hawks attached with golden chains. Then came the ambassadors of the Blemmyes bringing bows and arrow points made of the bones of enormous snakes... And when almost all envoys had been presented,... there appeared last the ambassadors of the Axumites, who were not vassals, obliged to pay tribute, but friends and allies, and who gave the king as gifts of congratulation for his success, different animals, and — amongst them — an exotic and admirable kind of animal, something like a camel as for its height and a leopard as for the colours of its skin, which was full of multicoloured spots [the animal is a giraffe, or " camel-pard "]. »

(Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, VI, xxv-xxvii, trans. B.H.)

The Bejas were partly christianised during the 6th century, but Islamisation started since the 7th century, after the Arab conquest of Egypt. This process, however superficial, was completed during the 14th century - well into the later Middle Ages. A Beja kinglet, called Shih or Souh, was allegedly an ally of the Byzantines, but was defeated by the Muslims in c. 651 A.D. The Bejas were obliged to pay tribute to the Muslims of Egypt, although as late as 851, Beja revolts were recorded.

The Nubians and Byzantium. — The general theory holds that the Nubian tribes were christianised between A.D. 421 and 543, the period in which king Silko's reign has been dated. These dates are confirmed by other events : still in A.D. 453, Maximus, the Byzantine governor of Egypt, confirmed the right of the Nubians to worship Isis in Philae, while only in 540 the Isis temple of Philae was closed down by emperor Justinian I.

Monophysitism in Nubia and Ethiopia

« Christianity was introduced into Nubia in the reign of Justinian in both its Catholic and Monophysite forms. In about 535 the emperor and his wife Theodora both sent missions into the land, but Theodora stole a march on her husband by intercepting his mission. First in the field, her Monophysites gave a permanent colour to Christianity in that country, where it continued for many centuries. Its king was still building churches in the eleventh century ; by the thirteenth, however, mosques were springing up and Christianity beginning to wane. It continued until after 1500, but Moslem merchants increasingly imported their religion with their goods, and Nubian Monophysitism quietly disappeared.

» The only other country where Monophysitism has survived is Ethiopia (Abyssinia). It experienced a slower growth of civilisation but maintained a notable vitality. Little is known of its beginnings. It had a tradition of foundation by the " Nine Saints ", apparently Monophysite Syrian monks who entered the country perhaps at the end of the fifth century, possibly as refugees from Catholic persecution, possibly as missionaries. Ethiopia's Monophysitism was also strengthened by its dependence upon Egypt — the head of the Ethiopian Church was appointed by Alexandria until 1951. An attempt to win independence from Egypt in the twelfth century had failed. The thirteenth century saw a revival through literature, while on the military front Islam was pushed back in a series of campaigns. Monasteries, Christian strongholds of propaganda, were built, the numbers of monks increased and converts won from paganism both on the frontiers of Ethiopia and within the land itself. Attempts were made to raise standards of morality, one abbot being courageous enough to excommunicate the king. »

(D. Christie-Murray, *A history of heresy*, Oxford - New York, 1989, p. 82.)

The old kingdom of Meroë was destroyed about A.D. 300 by an Axumite expedition and out of the different Nubian groups grew three kingdoms : Nobatia, Makurra (or Mukuria) and Alwa (or Alodia). In the course of the 8th century Nobatia and Makurra were united into the kingdom of *Nubia*, with Dongola as its capital. Previously, as a result of the missio-

nary zeal of the Crypto-Monophysite Byzantine empress Theodora, wife of Justinian I, Monophysitism became the Christian norm in Nubia — especially as a result of the activities of a Monophysite missionary, Justin, from the 530s onwards.

Byzantine/Greek influence upon the liturgy, art and organisation of the Nubian Church was very strong and Greek texts from Nubia occur as late as the late medieval era (possibly 14th century). Nevertheless, relatively little information has come down to us from the medieval Christian Nubian period.

Because of the Muslim occupation of North Africa (7th century), direct relations with Byzantium seem to have been extremely limited. Only from Arab sources, however, it is known that the isolated Christianity of Nubia was prosperous, reaching its apex during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. In the year 1204, the crusaders (of the Fourth Crusade) encountered in the Byzantine court of Constantinople a Nubian Christian king [55]. The Christian kings of Nobatia, later of Dongola, were able to obtain the status of protectors of Coptic Christianity, especially as Muslim Egypt was politically inclined towards a policy of reconciliation with Nubia, since the economically important slave trade with Africa passed through the Nubian corridor. However, when in 1272 king David of Dongola attacked the Muslim port of Aydhāb, the fate of Christian Dongola was sealed : in 1276 it was occupied by the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, Baybars I, while in 1315 a Muslim was inaugurated as king. Alwa, in the South, had a longer duration, up to the beginnings of the 16th century.

Byzantium and Axum. — The Greek-Egyptian world of the Roman period knew the African East Coast well and had pursued trade relations with its « *empōria* », or trade stations/ports. Adoulis (in today's Eritrea) was such a centre. It may have been founded by Graecophone runaway slaves, perhaps in the beginning of our era (whence the name « *Ādoulis* », the « Free town »). In the Byzantine period, Adoulis was controlled by the Axumite kings.

It is generally accepted that Monophysite Christianity was introduced during the reign of Ezana (Greek « *Aizanās* » : *floruit* c. 350 A.D.), and that Saint Frumentius played an important rôle in this event. The Ethiopian tradition refers to a « second evangelisation », attributed to nine saints (two of whom had Greek names), at the end of the 5th century. Another course of events — although much less probable — was presented by the Soviet historian Y. Kobishchanov, who distinguishes between two Ezanas, the second one supposedly being the introducer of Christianity (second half of

5th century). Neither the literary sources nor the Ethiopian epigraphic evidence support Kobishchanov's theory.

King Kaleb (Ella Asbeha, Greek « *Elesbōas* ») was the next important Axumite ruler (reigned c. 493 - c. 533, d.c. 535), who brought great power and prosperity to Axum. He concluded an alliance with the Byzantine emperor, Justin I, in the early 6th century and destroyed the « Jewish » kingdom of Dhu Nuwas in Yemen, which had persecuted the Christians. Kaleb maintained friendly relations also with Justinian I, although one should not accept the legendary account of the epic « *Kebra Negast* », according to which both rulers had divided the late ancient world between themselves.

Late Hellenistic and Byzantine writers on Ethiopia

« Sometimes individual travellers, like the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, *give us accurate information about the Aksumite Empire... In the medieval period the Byzantine writers dealt with Ethiopian history... Cosmas Indicopleustes spent some time in the Aksumite Empire as a merchant and later as a Christian writer... His book includes political, commercial and literary information on Ethiopia in the first half of the 6th century. In a way, the same can be said about another contemporary writer, Procopius, who was court chronicler of Justinian... Accounts of some Byzantine writers who visited Ethiopia for personal or official reasons no longer exist. For example, during the reign of Justinian a professional diplomat called Nonnosus was sent as an envoy from the Byzantine Empire to the Aksumite Court... He produced an account of his mission to Aksum but unfortunately the work does not exist today and we have only a summary of it in the collection of Photius, called* Myriobiblos. »

(Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and medieval Ethiopian history to 1270*, Addis Abbaba, 1972, p. 16.)

In Yemen (the land of the « Homerites » / Greek « *Homerītai* »), Esimiphaios (Arab. Sumyafa Aswa), a local prince who had become a Christian and was left in charge of the Ethiopian-occupied territory of South Arabia, became the first Christian king of the Homerites after Dhu Nuwas had perished, in 525. Abraha (Greek « *Ābramos* »), who is mentioned as

the first Christian king by the chronicle on « *The Laws of the Homerites* » (wrongly attributed to Saint Gregentius), was in fact Esimiphaios' successor, having deposed the latter during a coup.

It is certain that Byzantium's influence upon (and contacts with) Ethiopia wained after Kaleb's reign, since the ensuing 7th-century Muslim occupation of Egypt and the Middle East virtually isolated the Ethiopian kingdom from the Byzantine East. The rest of medieval Ethiopian history is therefore of little direct importance for Byzantium. The so-called Solomonic dynasty of Axum (which — according to legend — derived from the union between king Solomon and the queen of Sheba) was replaced by the Zagwé dynasty (end of 10th century), of which king Lalibela (c. 1190 - c. 1225) [56] was the most important ruler, famous for his beautiful rock churches near Lasta. In about A.D. 1270 the Zagwé dynasty was toppled by Jekumo Amlak, who restored the Solomonic line. Ethiopia's isolation from the Christian world came to an end, when king Zara Jacob (1434-1468) engaged in contacts with Rome.

Byzantine influence upon « Black Africa ». — The study on Africano-byzantina by the Greek Cypriot scholar Theodore Papadopoullos (1966) remains the « classical » introduction to the examination of Byzantine contacts with (or influences on) Black Africa [57].

Within the limited framework of this introductory manual, it should be stated that it is mainly during the Byzantine period that — through Arab sources — legends on Alexander the Great (variably named Iskender, Sikandar[i], al-Iskandar) were to spread throughout the African continent and give rise to a rich African « repertorium » of Alexander-legends.

Finally, one should mention the Swahili epic on emperor Herakleios I's Arab wars (in the late 620's and early 630's), an epic which had survived in an oral form, after the original (perhaps in Arabic ?) was lost during the Middle Ages.

Chapter X

Byzantium and western institutions : feudalism

Pre-, proto- and para-feudalism in Byzantium. — It is common to cite Tacitus (*Germania*) who, describing the Germans, stated that the chiefs fight for victory and the men of their retinue for their chiefs, to whom they gave their most sacred oath of allegiance to defend and protect them, upon which the chiefs' liberality provided them with war-horses and weapons. Undeniably, the presence of German soldiers in the Roman armies continued this tradition. However, it would be wrong to consider the fact that Roman emperors or generals demanded an oath from their soldiers as a first « symptom » of feudalism. On the other hand, the institution of the *limitanei*, the border militia, carried with it the germs of pre-feudalism. Thus, the construction of permanent frontier fortifications resulted into the immobilisation of the auxiliary corps at the *limites* since the 2nd century A.D. Increasingly the new recruits came from the children of these *limitanei*, to whom — in the third century — frontier lands were granted upon condition of their defending them.

Thus, the Severi already gave a semi-military status to the civilians of some border districts, concentrating them in small castles or forts. Constantine I (306/324-337), while reversing Diocletian's (284-305) defence policy, attached the *limitanei* (or *riparienses*) to border defences and offered them land for cultivation in the vicinity of the castles which they manned. Nevertheless, their status and pay was less than those of the field army (*comitatus/comitatenses*). The invasions of the Persians, Avaro-Slavs and Muslims in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries, obliged the Byzantine emperors — and first among them Herakleios I (610-641), to reorganise the defence of the Empire, by introducing the system of « Themes » (Gr. « *thēmata* »), the latter being extensive administrative units of an essentially military nature, under the leadership of « *strategoī* » (generals) [58]. Divisions of troops (« *thēmata* ») were assigned to the newly formed regions, where

military estates (« *stratiotikā ktēmata* ») were attributed to soldiers, who received these lands on a hereditary basis. Thus, according to G. Ostrogorsky, the themes can be defined as a combination of the earlier institution of *limitanei* with the *Exarchates* of Ravenna (in Italy) and Carthage (in Northern Africa), where military and civil commands were united.

The soldiers (« *stratiōtai* ») of these themes were obliged to present themselves, completely armed and with a horse, when mobilised. The creation of these military estates, however, reinforced the existence of free small-holdings, not altogether unlike the pre-feudal holdings of the Frankish Merovingians in the West [59].

However, problems occured relatively soon, when the military lands were sold or alienated by the *stratiōtai* or their heirs, or fell into the hands of the *dynatoī*, i.e. the wealthy and « powerful ». Therefore, the mid-Byzantine period emperors Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944), Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913/945-959) and Romanos II (959-963), tried to prohibit the alienation of their lands and to safeguard the position of the *stratiōtai*. These laws remained without results, especially when Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969), a representative of the military landed nobility, became emperor. Nevertheless, the victories of the Empire during the 10th century were in general the result of the efficiency of the « thematic » régime, as well as of the adaptation of the Byzantine military tactics vis-à-vis the methods used by the Arabs in the East and the Bulgars in the Balkans.

On the border regions themselves, units waging a kind of guerilla warfare were deployed since the time of emperor Leo VI the « Wise » (886-912) ; their methods can be read in Nikephoros Phokas' interesting manual on war. The border-soldiers, the legendary *akrītai*, i.e. « warriors of the frontier » (well-known from the epic on *Digenēs Akrītas* and the akritic folksongs), were thus — like the *limitanei* of earlier centuries — stationed on the borders (Greek « *ākra* », hence « *akrītai* »). The institution of the *akritai* survived until the late Byzantine period, when emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258/1261-1282), in order to secure extra financial resources, imposed taxes on the lands of the *akrītai* ; the latter revolted and were eventually quelled, but this situation resulted in the weakening of the border defenses against the Turkish advance, especially in Bithynia (northwestern Anatolia), where the early Ottomans (Osmanlis) had arrived. It has been proposed (B. Knös) that the *akrītai* were the Byzantine *markgraves* and *counts*, fulfilling a similar rôle and having a similar status as the chevaleresque warring nobility in the feudal West [60]. However, such an equation is not correct, although para-feudal elements are recognisable in the institution of the *akrītai*.

When referring to Byzantine feudalism, in general, one has in mind the theory methodically proposed by G. Ostrogorsky in a series of publications from 1952 onwards [61]. According to his researches, the institution of « *prōnoiai* » (lit. « providences ») was introduced during the time of Basil II the Bulgarslayer's immediate successors, i.e. from 1025 to 1057, and was later expanded under the dynasties of the Komneno-Doukai (1057-1081), the Komnenoi (1081-1185), as well as under the Angeloi (1185-1204), moving even into the states of Nicaea and Epeiros, after 1204. The pronoiars were great landowners, to whom these lands had been granted by the state in exchange for the obligation to serve, with their retinue of farmer-soldiers (Gr. « *georgoī-stratiōtai* »), in the Byzantine army, when the state was in danger. Such an institution, of course, could and indeed led to the establishment of « private armies » within the Empire. Nevertheless, this institution lacks the basic principles on which western feudalism was based, and never developed into a full-scale feudalism, which was in the West centrifugal by nature and thus the direct opposite of Byzantine absolutism.

Western feudalism is encountered for the first time in Byzantium on the occasion of the First Crusade's beginnings (1096), or perhaps some years earlier, on the occasion of the visit of Robert the Frison, count of Flanders, to emperor Alexios I Komnenos' court, in Constantinople. It was on these occasions that the Western Crusader leaders recognised Alexios I as their overlord, receiving a *beneficium* in exchange and thus having entered into a personal feudal contractual relationship with the Byzantine emperors.

From then onwards, Byzantium would be confronted — directly or indirectly — by feudal institutions, which would lead to the eventual victory of the feudal forces of the West upon the centralised bureaucratic system of the Byzantine Empire, in 1204 (A. Kazhdan). But, in order to comprehend the essential differences between Western and Byzantine feudalism, as well as the implantation of the former on Byzantine soil after 1204 (with the commencement of the *Latinokratia* period in mainland and insular Greece), we should, albeit briefly, consider the origins and development of feudalism in the West.

Western feudalism and its implantation in « Romania ». — The inglorious end of the Western Roman Empire with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus (A.D. 476), was nothing more-nothing less than the *de iure* recognition of the reality concerning the birth of a new period and civilisation in *Europa occidentalis*. Although in Italy — under Odoacer — Romans as well as Ostrogoths were united as equals in a new society, this

was not necessarily the case in other parts of the previous Roman West. In the Visigothic kingdom of Gaul, Romans and Goths lived side by side as separate groups, both under their own laws. Their king, Euric, was responsible for a compilation of a code of Gothic customary law, while his successor, Alaric II (484-507), sponsored in 506 a legal code, applied to the Romans and known as *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (or « Alaric's Breviary »). Roman *provinciae* were retained and placed under *duces* (dukes) ; the same arrangement applied for the civitates, which were placed under counts (*comites civitatum*).

In Italy, the formidable Ostrogothic leader Theodoric (Flavius Theodoricus) received from the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I, in A.D. 497, the *insignia* and title of *rex* (king). Contrary to the Visigoths, Theodoric's law was applicable to Romans and Goths alike. The Burgundians of the Rhône valley also co-existed in peace with the Romans, and their king, Gundobad (473-516), issued a *Lex Romana Burgundiorum*, which was applicable both to his Roman and Burgundian subjects, when in dispute with their Roman fellow-inhabitants. Finally, the Frankish kings — like their Ostrogoth counterparts of Italy — did not distinguish between Franks and Romans. Moreover, being « Orthodox », i.e. belonging to the Christian mainstream, they enjoyed the loyalty of their Roman subjects, in opposition to the Goths and Burgundians, who had remained attached to Arianism.

Of all these groups, the Franks were soon to become the dominant one, their expansion beginning with the Merovingian king Clovis (482-511), who had received the title of *consul* from the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I. It was these Franks who established Salic law in Western Europe, and out of this Roman-Germanic context grew the first examples of feudalism. When, in 754, the Frankish *majordomus* (Mayor of the Palace), Peppin the Short, dethroned the Merovingians, the Carolingians took over. Peppin's son, Charlemagne (768-814), was crowned by the pope in Rome as emperor of the West (800), and it was under his reign that a first fully developed form of feudalism became the typical political system of the western Middle Ages.

However, the classical age of feudalism streched from the 10th to the end of the 13th century A.D. This particular feudalism was based on a personal contract of vassalage [62] between lord and vassal : the vassal placed himself in the service of the lord, paying homage to the latter and swearing loyalty, or *fealty* (Latin : *fides* ; French : *foi*). In his turn, the lord bestowed a *beneficium* upon his vassal, either some land (*feudum*), or a title, or even money or certain prerogatives/rights. In his own turn, a vassal could obtain

his own vassals, or sub-vassals (*vavasseurs*), thus creating a system of personal bonds and loyalties, stretching from king to even non-noble servants, thereby paralysing the power of the king and creating a very closed, rigid and centrifugal system.

It was this system that the knights of the Fourth Crusade imposed on many among the dismembered territories of Byzantium, following the capture of Constantinople in 1204. The partition treaty (*Partitio Romaniae*) divided — according to feudal custom — Byzantium (Romania) amongst the newly elected Latin (Frankish) emperor, Baldwin I (= IX of Flanders), the crusaders and the Venetians. In Constantinople as well as in the Peloponnese commissions were set up to divide the land. Thus, we know from the western sources (Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Robert de Clari) and the various versions of the Chronicle of the Morea (which constitute one of the best sources of feudalism !), that the *feuda* (Greek *« ta phêe »*, *« ta pronoiāsmata »*) were distributed according to the rank and the power of every Latin, who had participated in the conquest of Romania.

« Feudalisation » under the Palaiologoi in Byzantium

« The establishment of the dynasty of the Palaiologoi on the imperial throne signified a victory for the higher Byzantine nobility. The process of feudalisation revived and reached its climax from the fourteenth century onwards. The secular and ecclesiastical landlords enlarged their estates, added to the number of their paroikoi, demanded increasingly extensive privileges and were frequently granted complete immunity. »

(G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 481-482.)

The base of the partition was equality : one knight (Lat. *miles*, Greek *kavallārios*) equals one fief, which in turn equals two mounted « sergents » (or non-noble, professional soldiers), while Byzantine revenue documents were consulted. In the Peloponnese (Morea), Greek *pronoiārioi* were incorporated in the « Frankish » system. While in the ephemeral Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261) no legal code seems to have been developed, in the Principality of Achaia, written documents — beginning with a register of fiefs — gradually developed into a legal codex dated to the beginning of the 14th century and whose first printed edition (by Can-

ciani) dates to 1785. This work, still based on Salic law, regulated duties and rights of princes, barons, lords and vassals, their interrelations, as well as relations between Latins and « Rhomaïoi » (Byzantine Greeks). The application of the *« Assizes of Romania »* after the 15th century remains problematic ; they were still used at the beginning of the 16th century in the Latin Duchy of the Archipelago (the Cyclades islands in the Aegean Sea) and seem to have survived until the second part of the 17th century [63].

Chapter XI

Byzantium, the Crusades and the Latin domination

Definition and pre-history. — The term *« Crusade(s) »* is relatively new. In the Middle Ages, Occidental texts define « crusade » as *« iter hierosolymitanum »* (« travel to Jerusalem »), as *« passage »*, *« pèlerinage de la Croix »* (« pilgrimage of the Cross ») or *« voyage d'outre-mer »* (« overseas travel »). The crusaders themselves are called *crucesignati* (« marked by the Cross ») and *peregrini* (pilgrims), while the Arabs speak about the *hurub assalibiyya* (« war for the Cross »). One can also add the Byzantine concept of *hierōs pōlemos* (« holy war »). The term *« crusade(s) »* itself is applied *sensu stricto* to the Occidental military expeditions, sponsored or inaugurated by the popes of Rome, in order to liberate the Holy Places in Palestine. However, *sensu largo* the term can be applied to any medieval Christian expedition against the Muslims, and can be extended to the Byzantine expeditions and wars against the Arabs and Turks. Even, after the medieval period, the Portuguese, for example, considered their wars in East Africa and the consequent occupation of Muslim territory as an extension of the Crusades.

Historically, the first confrontations of West-European Christianity with Islam date from the 8th century : in 711 the Muslims conquered Spain, and only in 732 they were stopped at Poitiers by Charles Martel (c. 715-741). His grandson, Charlemagne, started the Christian counter-offensive, of which the French epic, the *« Chanson de Roland »*, is a testimony. The *reconquista* of Spain ended only in 1492 with the fall of Granada, the last Muslim kingdom in Spain.

At the Eastern frontiers of Christianity, the triumph of the Byzantine emperor Herakleios over the Persian Sassanids and the destruction of their Empire might be considered as an example of Christian aggression or expansion against non-Christians. It — in fact — opened the doors for Islam's occupation of the Eastern Byzantine provinces. The episode may

The Crusades : late 11th - mid 15th centuries

Date	Rulers in Byzantium	Crusade	Events in East
1096-1099	Alexios I Komnenos	First Crusade	Nicaea, Dorylaion, Edessa, Antioch and Jerusalem conquered. Godfrey of Bouillon founds Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.
1147-1149	Manuel I Komnenos	Second Crusade	The German Emperor Konrad III, and king Louis VII of France led a crusade which was unsuccessful.
1189-1192	Isaakios II Angelos	Third Crusade	Saladin, sultan of Egypt, conquered Jerusalem (1187) ; Latin kingdom is reconstructed — without Jerusalem !
1201-1204	Alexios III Angelos Isaakios II Angelos Alexios IV Angelos Alexios V Mourtzouphlos	Fourth Crusade	Deviation of the crusade to Constantinople. Baldwin of Flanders becomes emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.
1212		So-called « Children's Crusades »	No consequence for Byzantium and the East.
1217-1229	Theodore I Laskaris (Nicaea) Yolande of Courtenay/Flanders (Latin Empire) Robert of Courtenay (Latin Empire)	Fifth Crusade	The German emperor Frederic II of Hohenstaufen makes an agreement with Ayyubid sultan al-Kamil of Egypt, who cedes Jerusalem.
1248	John III Batatzes (Nicaea) Baldwin II (Latin Empire of Constantinople)	St. Louis' Crusade to Damietta	In 1244 Jerusalem was reconquered by the Muslims. Louis' crusade was unsuccessful.
1270	Michael VIII Palaiologos	St. Louis' Crusade to Tunis	Unsuccessful « crusade ». In 1291, Acre (the last Crusader bastion) is conquered by the Muslims. — End of « official » Crusades.
1396	Manuel II Palaiologos	The penultimate Crusade of Nicopolis	Duke Jean Sans Peur (John Without Fear) was defeated and made prisoner by Bayazid I, Ottoman Turkish sultan, at Nicopolis.
1444	John VIII Palaiologos	The last Crusade of Varna	King Vladislav of Poland/Hungary is defeated and killed in action by Murad II, Ottoman Turkish sultan, at Varna.

perhaps be considered as an early example of Christian *hierōs pōlemos*, which was to assume further expansion in subsequent centuries, with the protracted Byzantine-Muslim confrontation (7th-11th centuries).

The Crusades. — Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099) convoked in 1095 a council in Clermont (France), where a number of problems related to ecclesiastical discipline were discussed. Amongst the resulting *canons*, however, two were related to the organisation of a crusade. Moreover, at the end of the council the pope appealed in his sermon to Western Christianity to liberate Jerusalem. This sermon had an extraordinary appeal and led to the First Crusade. Although Urban II's call to arms resulted from a Byzantine appeal to stem the Seljuk Turkish advance in the East, the pope was more interested in gaining possession of Jerusalem than in helping the Byzantine Empire.

The First Crusade did not attract leading Western sovereigns, but a number of high-ranking feudal barons, such as the Normans Bohemond and Tancred, Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Toulouse and Robert of Normandy. An army of about 35.000 men marched to Constantinople, where — in 1097 — emperor Alexios I Komnenos extracted a feudal oath of allegiance from the crusader leaders, whereby the latter promised to return to him any former Byzantine territories they would conquer from the Muslims. The crusaders, transported by the Byzantines across to Asia Minor, took Nicaea, destroyed a Seljuk army at Dorylaion in July 1097, conquered Antioch in June 1098 and finally captured by storm Jerusalem in July 1099. Four separate crusader principalities emerged : the kingdom of Jerusalem and the counties of Antioch, Edessa and Tripolis. However, the Crusaders did not keep their promises towards Alexios I, and ill relations between Byzantines and « Franks » ensued, a trend which continued during the whole crusader period.

Soon the Muslims took the initiative and counter-attacked. Amongst them, the heterodox Ismaelite Assassins won glory for themselves by killing and harassing the crusaders without respite. These events led to a Second Crusade (1147-1149), which — mainly due to internal crusader strife and lack of discipline — remained unsuccessful. By 1187/1188, after the offensive of the great Kurdish warlord Saladin, founder of the Ayyubid dynasty of Egypt, the crusaders' lands were reduced to Tyre and Beaufort (as remains of the kingdom of Jerusalem) and, in the North, Tripolis, the *Crac des Chevaliers* (the mightiest crusader castle ever built), Antioch and Margat. The Third Crusade (1187-1192) led to a *status quo* between the fighting parties.

The sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders (1204) : the shame of the West

« The sack of Constantinople is unparalleled in history. For nine centuries the great city had been the capital of Christian civilisation. It was filled with works of art that had survived from ancient Greece and with the masterpieces of its own exquisite craftsmen. The Venetians indeed knew the value of such things. Wherever they could they seized treasures and carried them off to adorn the squares and churches and palaces of their town. But the Frenchmen and Flemings were filled with a lust for destruction. They rushed in a howling mob down the streets... destroying whatever they could not carry, pausing only to murder or to rape... In Saint Sophia itself drunken soldiers could be seen... pulling the great silver iconostasis to pieces. While they drank merrily from the altar-vessels a prostitute set herself on the Patriarch's throne... Nuns were ravished... Wounded women and children lay dying in the streets. »

(S. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, III : *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*, Harmondsworth, 1954 [repr., 1987], p. 123.)

The Fourth Crusade was a disaster. The « deviation » of this Crusade had weakened the Western strength in the Middle East by dividing its forces. A period of some coexistence between « Latins » and Ayyubids (1198-1254) followed during which the Fifth Crusade (1217-1219) did not result in anything, while the Sixth Crusade, under the Holy Roman (German) emperor Frederic II succeeded — through negotiation — the return of Jerusalem to the Latins (treaty of Jaffa : 11 February 1229). However, the following years brought civil war in the Holy Land and the final loss of Jerusalem (1229-1244).

A Seventh Crusade (1248-1249), mainly directed by Louis IX, king of France, against Egypt, was another disaster. Even the arrival of the Mongols on the Eastern scene could not save the Latins, who gradually lost all their positions, except Cyprus (which fell to the Turks only in 1571). Further crusader attempts during the 14th and 15th centuries were totally abortive. In conclusion, one may state — without fear of exaggeration — that the Crusades contributed to the weakening and final decline of Byzan-

tium. The Latins' actions rendered Islam more aggressive to Christianity ; moreover, they did not not help restoring Byzantium's prestige in the East, they could not win Eastern Christian sympathies in Muslim countries for their cause, they provoked an unprecedented hate among the Orthodox against the Catholics (especially because of the plundering of Constantinople in 1204), and they brought financial and military disaster to the Greek East.

The consequences of the Fourth Crusade : dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire. — After the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders, in 1204, the Byzantine territories were divided amongst the Latins. In Constantinople itself the « Latin Empire » (1204-1261) was established. It is also sometimes called the « French Empire » (Buchon) or even a « Belgian Empire » (Ch. Verlinden). In Thessalonica a « Latin Kingdom » was created for Boniface of Montferrat, the *de facto* leader of the Fourth Crusade (ruled 1204-1207), who was succeeded by his son Demetrios. The kingdom fell to the Byzantines of Epeiros in 1224. While Latin Constantinople was reconquered by Michael VIII Palaiologos' troops in 1261, other Frankish states (e.g. principality of Achaïa, which is the most important one ; duchy of Athens ; Venetian possessions and other Italian baronies) continued their existence. For Venice and other Italian cities, bridgeheads in the Byzantine territories were of paramount importance for the maintenance and the growth of their lucrative trading empires.

The Greek Byzantines regrouped in Nicaea (under the Laskarid dynasty), in Epeiros (under the Angeloi-Komnenoi) and in Trebizond (where the Grand Komnenoi established their own empire).

In Constantinople itself, Baldwin I's reign was ended abruptly on 14 April 1205, when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Bulgaro-Wallachian tsar Kalojan (Johannitsa). He was succeeded — first as regent, then as emperor — by his brother, Henry of Flanders (or of Hainaut), who ruled until 1216. He was the only capable Latin ruler of Constantinople, earning the respect of Franks as well as of Greeks, by trying to create a state in which both groups could be accommodated. His respect for the Orthodox Church and Byzantine tradition was noticed with appreciation. As a good diplomat he married — in second marriage — the daughter of the Bulgarian tsar, Boril, gave his own daughter to another indigenous prince, Sclav (Esclav), and arranged the marriage of his brother, Eustace, to the daughter of Michael Angelos-Komnenos of Epeiros. His premature death in 1216 was a catastrophe for the Latin Empire, which lingered on until 1261. The consecutive emperors (Peter and Yolande of Courtenay, Robert

of Courtenay, John of Brienne, and Baldwin II) were unable to gain the respect of their subjects, could not defend their territory properly, and led their state to total economic ruin. Thus, when in 1261 Constantinople became Byzantine again, the Palaiologoi found a devastated city and countryside, a situation which signalled the beginning of Byzantium's final economic and — by consequence — military and social decline.

The Latin Domination in the Morea. — The situation was, somehow, different in the Latin Peloponnese or Morea. According to the *Partitio Romaniae* (October 1204), the greatest part of the Peloponnese should go to Venice. In fact, its conquest did not follow the divisions and provisions of the *Partitio*. Baldwin of Flanders being elected emperor in Constantinople, Boniface of Montferrat departed during the autumn of 1204 southwards in order to conquer his « kingdom of Thessalonica ». At the entrance of the Peloponnese, only Leo Sgouros resisted. Geoffrey of Villehardouin, nephew of the chronicler with the same name, had landed in Modon in 1204, where during the winter of 1204-1205, with the help of a local Greek nobleman, he conquered parts of Messenia and Elis. After the death of this Greek, a revolt followed and Geoffrey set off to meet Boniface. With William of Champlitte, a knight of Boniface, he then — with the permission of Boniface — started the conquest of the Peloponnese. According to tradition, when William (I) of Champlitte was proclaimed prince, the Peloponnese was divided into 12 baronies (Kalamata, Akova, Karytaina, Patrai, Vostitza, Kalavryta, Chalandritsa, Veligoste, Nyklion, Gritsaina, Geraki and Passava). The barony of Kalamata, being the most important one, was given to Geoffrey of Villehardouin. The power and authority of the prince was limited because of the « right of conquest » of the barons.

In 1209 Champlitte left for France, where his brother, Louis, had died. He left his nephew, Hugues, in the Peloponnese as « bail », who died soon afterwards. The barons then elected a new prince, Geoffrey (I) de Villehardouin. The latter made a point to normalize his relations with the Latin Empire of Constantinople (now under emperor Henry of Flanders) at the conference of Ravennika (in May 1209), and with Venice (in June of the same year), to which he ceded Coron and Modon.

In the Peloponnese itself, feudalism was strongly installed, while the Latin Church became dominant, and often confiscated the possessions of the Orthodox Church. A limited number of Greek feudatories were also incorporated into the feudal system. Andravida became the chief residence of the prince, while Glarentza was the main port. It was also in the latter city that coin mint for the principality was produced. The legal decisions

and processes were noted in the book of the prince, and eventually became the basis of the « *Assizes of Romania* ». French — next to Greek — became the official and spoken language of the prince and his entourage, while the centers, occupied by the Franks, gave birth to a western splendour, often referred to as this of « little France ».

The power and prosperity of the principality reached its peak during the reign of the three Villehardouins : Geoffrey I (1210-1218), his son Geoffrey II (1218-1245) and William (II) of Villehardouin (1245-1278), brother of Geoffrey II. Geoffrey I and II succeeded in strengthening their principality, which became in fact isolated from Latin Constantinople after the recapture of Thessalonica by Theodoros Doukas of Epeiros in 1224. Originally William (II) of Villehardouin followed the same policy, which gave him and the Morea great status in the West. However, he embarked on a more adventurous policy, when he got involved in an alliance with his father in law, Michael II of Epeiros, against the usurper emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos of Nicaea. This led to the catastrophic battle of Pelagonia (1259), as a result of which prince William and many of his barons were captured by the emperor, who demanded the reddition of the castles of Mystras, Monemvasia, Maina and Geraki as ransom for the prince's release. The prince came to an agreement with the emperor at the end of 1261, and at Nikli, a « parliament », mostly consisting of the wives of the captured nobles, decided to accept the emperor's conditions. William became the godfather of the son of Michael Palaiologos and swore oaths of fidelity, which soon — with the permission of pope Urban IV — were broken. Meanwhile, the Byzantines occupied Mystras and other cities, from where the Greek reconquista started.

After the death of William (II), the principality of Achaia came into the possession of king Charles I d'Anjou (1266-1285) as a result of the conventions of Viterbo in 1267. The Anjou or Angevin rule in the Peloponnese lasted from 1278 to 1383. The Villehardouin family still played a modest role, when Isabella was invested with the principality and ruled, firstly with her husband, Florent of Hainaut (1289-1297), and after his death, with her second husband, Philippe of Savoie (1301-1307). Her daughter, Mahaud of Hainaut, was incarcerated by king Robert of Naples and died a prisoner in 1331. The principality was then ruled — on behalf of the house of Anjou — by « bails » or princes, who could not stop the decline of the principality.

Finally, a series of catastrophes struck the Frankish Morea. In 1311 the Catalans sacked the duchy of Athens, while great families, newcomers and military orders struggled to gain a de facto independence : such were the

Genoese family of the Zaccaria (1311), the Florentine Acciaiuoli (1338), the Hospitaller Knights (1377) and the Navarrese Company (1380). Consequently, the Greco-Byzantine despotate of Morea had succeeded in recapturing practically the whole peninsula by 1430. From the late 1450's onwards, the Ottoman Turks brought the final blow to the surviving « Latin » enclaves : Athens (1458), Negrepont (1470) and the Cyclades (1566). The Ionian islands remained in Venetian hands until 1797.

The Venetians continued to play a military and trading rôle in the region for several centuries : only in 1499-1500, Korone (Coron) and Methone (Modon) fell to the Turks. In 1540 they lost Nauplion and Mykonos, in 1571 Famagusta, in Cyprus. Only in 1669 Crete was definitively lost. But the Republic of Venice controlled and occupied Corfu (Kerkyra) and the Ionian islands until its own fall.

Chapter XII

The Greek scholars of the « Diaspora », the birth of Byzantine studies and the development of Byzantinology

The birth of Byzantine studies (with particular emphasis on history and philology) in the Western world is inextricably linked with the Greek scholars (« *lōgioi* ») of the « Diaspora » as well as with the European Renaissance thinkers and their descendants, especially in Germany and France. Indeed, little would be known today on Byzantine history and culture without the fundamental contribution of the aforementioned Greek scholars, who shortly before and after the Fall of the Byzantine Empire (1453 to 1461) fled to Western Europe (mainly to Italy) carrying with them large quantities of Byzantine manuscripts (several of them adorned with miniatures), icons, relics and several other tokens of Byzantine art, which were eventually to end up in famous western libraries, archives, and various public or private collections in museums (« *skeuophylākia* » / « *thesaurophylākia* ») and elsewhere.

The reception of the Greek scholars in the West. — All those relics and monuments originated from famous centres of the Empire, e.g. Constantinople, the co-capital (« *symprotēvousa pōlis* ») Thessalonica, as well as the Athonite monasteries in Macedonia, Alexandria and Antioch in the Middle East, and others, which had thrived as « bee-hives » of cultural splendour, with notable scholars, libraries, schools, theatres, etc., for many centuries. All these centres were — in conjunction with the priceless treasures and relics of the four eastern Patriarchates [64] and the monastic centres of the Orient — the upholders and continuators of Greek Orthodox tradition, which was thus transmitted to the West through the Greek scholars.

The « Diaspora » scholars' contribution to ancient Greek letters and Hellenic civilisation was equaly cardinal, for several among them pursued teaching careers in Italian universities and philosophical schools ; such were the cases of Manuel Chrysolorās (c. 1340-1409), John Argyrōpou-

los (1410-1480), George Trapezoūntios (1396-1484), Theodore Gazēs (c. 1400 - c. 1475), Constantine Lāskaris (1434-1501), Michael Apostōlios or Apostōles (c. 1422 - c. 1480), Arsenios Apostōlios (c. 1470-1535), Demetrios Chalkokondȳles (1423-1511), Iannos (Janus) Lāskaris (c. 1445-1535) and Markos Mousoūros (c. 1470-1517) : to those we should also add two more extraordinary Greek scholars of the 15th century, namely Bessarion (c. 1400-1472), the former Byzantine metropolitan who eventually became a Catholic cardinal and was to donate his vast personal library to the Marcian Library of Venice, and the neoplatonist thinker of Mystras (in the Morea Despotate), George Gemistos - « Pletho » (c. 1365-1452), who although not a « Diaspora » scholar in the strict meaning of the term, travelled in Italy and partook of the Renaissance spirit there, as is evident in his precious surviving writings.

Greek sholarship in Renaissance Italy

« Greek scholarship was chiefly confined to Florence and to the fifteenth and the beginnings of the sixteenth centuries. The impulse which had proceeded from Petrarch and Boccacio, superficial as was their own acquaintance with Greek, was powerful, but did not tell immediately on their contemporaries, except a few ; on the other hand, the study of Greek literature died out about the year 1520 with the last colony of learned Greek exiles, and it was a singular piece of fortune that northerners like Erasmus, the Stephani, and Budaeus had meanwhile made themselves masters of the language. »

(J. Burckhard, *The civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, London, 1965, p. 118.)

Indeed, medieval Hellenism, especially in the last Byzantine centuries, became increasingly conscious of its formidable cultural heritage, which was transmitted in the West through the Greek « Diaspora » scholars in the Renaissance period [65]. It was Catholic historiography and the Roman Catholic Church, however, that in subsequent centuries faced the initial steps and promotion of Byzantine history and Orthodox Greek culture with apprehension and inimical sentiments, with the result of future misunderstandings and a deepening of the existing rift between East and West. The Great Ecclesiastical Schism of A.D. 1054, which has not been lifted unto

our days [66], had irreparably split Christendom and the attempts at Lyons (A.D. 1274) and Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439) had no results, although supported by the Palaiologan sovereigns Michael VIII and John VIII.

The initial stages of Byzantine studies and its temporary halt in the 18th century. — It was in the western world that the term *« Byzantine »* (with its derivatives), initially used for scholarly purposes in 16th-century Germany and 17th-century France, as well as the term *« Greek »* (*« Graecus »*), were to assume a derogatory connotation, becoming synonymous with decline, corruption and collapse [67]. Today, however, such usage is regarded as a sad reminder of bigotry and intolerance on the part of a significant section of the western world towards the Empire of the East, l'« Empire grec » as it was sometimes termed. The real foundations of Byzantinology were laid in the 16th and 17th centuries, mostly in Germany and France, but also in Italy and Holland, where the first professional editions of Byzantine chronicles and other authors (with Latin translations and commentaries) took place. Byzantine studies, however, were to undergo, while still in infancy, a period of tribulations during the « Age of Reason » or « Rationalismus », in the 18th century, also termed the era of « Enlightenment ». Certainly, this was not a « luminous » age of Byzantine studies and it is sadly recorded that very important scholars and scientists of that period, such as the French Montesqieu and Voltaire, literally threw Byzantium into History's « waste-paper basket », as a sad endless tale of intrigues, machinations, murders, false-miracles, empty demegories and extensive corruption and decline ; such verdicts manifest clearly that these elsewhise formidable minds were infamiliar with the sources regarding that civilisation they had so uncritically condemned, while their negative attitude towards Byzantium has been severely criticised by modern scholarship.

On the other hand, the English-speaking public of late 18th-century Europe (and thence onwards) fell under the spell of the great British historian, Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), who in his monumental synthesis entitled *« History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire »* (completed between 1776 and 1788) saw in Byzantium little to admire and much to criticise, the « triumph of barbarism and religion », as he termed it. Gibbon's « Byzantine decline », however, had derived from his meticulous study of several Byzantine (and other) original sources available to him in the time of his composition, and the modern scholar can clearly discern that the great historian's criticism was creative and along constructive lines ; after all, something of importance must have characterised such a prolonged

« decline and fall », which was to last for over eleven centuries ! Although largely outdated, however, Gibbon's masterpiece will continue to feature profitably in bibliography on account of its unsurpassed style.

The revival of Byzantine studies. — Indeed, the study of medieval Greek history and civilisation assumed impressive proportions in the course of the 19th — and chiefly in the present century [68]. Today courses, lectures and seminars in Byzantine studies are given in Greece, Europe, Russia, the United States of America, but also in the Balkan countries, Australia, Canada, Chile, Armenia, Georgia, Sweden, Turkey, Japan and South Africa, among other countries — though, as could be justifiably expected — the entire Byzantine period is covered in detail only in Greece, where it is « seen » as the medieval section of Greek national history. Moreover, several Byzantinological research centers operate internationally (e.g the American Dumbarton Oaks Centre in Washington, the Byzantinological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, in Belgrade, the Byzantine section of the French Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, in Paris, the Byzantine section of the Russian Institute of World History, in Moscow, the Byzantine Centre of the Hellenic National Research Foundation, in Athens, and others), while the international public have now easy access to an impressive number of Byzantinological (and other kindred) journals [69] on various topics of Byzantine history, archaeology and art, architecture, theology, philology, philosophy, music and hymnography, economic history, numismatics and sigillography (i.e. the discipline of studying seals / Gr. « *sphragīdai* »), prosopography and genealogy, folklore and everyday life, decoration techniques, diplomatics (i.e. the study of documents) and many other ramification of a rapidly expanding field.

Since 1924 nineteen international Byzantinological congresses have been organised by the International Association of Byzantine studies (on and off every five years ; the 20th congress is scheduled for Paris, in 2001), while a few years ago, in 1991, the first collective Byzantinological encyclopaedia, the *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, was published under the editorship of the late Alexander Kazhdan (1922-1997), one of the great Byzantinological figures of our century. Finally, in modern Greece and Cyprus (the Hellenophone heirs of the Byzantine Empire), there is an attested thriving of Byzantine studies (though, as it happens internationally, this thriving is more often than not a quantitative rather than a qualitative one) ; a methodical corpus of Greek and Cypriot byzantinists will demonstrate their closer or looser connection with Byzantinology, for several among them (today occupying byzantinological posts in universities and research

centres) are post-byzantinists, Latinists, Venetologists and Cretologists — while scores of gifted byzantinists join on a daily basis the unemployment lines.

The questionable future of Byzantinology. — Nowadays there is an uncontestable thriving of Byzantine studies inernationally and an ensuing bibliographical outburst — to an extent that it is now almost impossible for an individual scholar to follow up on Byzantinological publications on the whole. This outburst of new editions and translations of primary sources [70], books and monographs, collective manuals or volumes on acts of conferences, articles in journals and bulletins, encyclopaedic/lexicographical entries, etc., is doubtlessly enhanced through the extended use of the computer, though this use is not often creative and facilitates the creation of books-catalogues rather than original syntheses. Moreover, this uncontrolable productivity does not unfortunately go apace with either an expansion of Greek/Byzantine studies departments or centres, or with the creation of more jobs in the field, a crisis which will in the years to come assume alarming proportions, unless radical steps are taken within the field itself. Such measures ought to be taken through the field's official instrument, the International Association of Byzantine Studies, but also through the responsible academic authorities of universities ; this could be effected, for example, through the widening of the field's horizons that is with combined university courses in collaboration with Islamicists, Slavicists, Orientalists, Africanists and western medievalists. This is, indeed, the challenge that Byzantinological circles all over the world will inevitably have to meet, if Byzantine studies are to proceed at a steady pace in the 21st century.

Appendix :
The main sources of Byzantine history

The present appendix consists of an attempt at cataloguing a substantial selection among a vast number of secular and ecclesiastical sources for Byzantine history, namely Byzantine/Greek, but also Latin and other western (e.g. old French), Oriental (both Christian and Muslim), Jewish, African and — especially in the late period — Slavonic sources [71]. Column one in the ensuing pages gives the name and dates of the source's author, column two its title and column three the chronological period covered as well as some additional information, when necessary. The student who also wants to approach Byzantine history and civilisation through original sources but cannot read Greek, Latin or Oriental and Slavonic languages, is fortunate enough in being able to approach several among these texts through modern translations in the most widely read western languages (several among these translations being in English) [72]. The three main divisions of the ensuing sources were made in accordance with Byzantine history's three main periods adopted in this manual, i.e. early (late 3rd / early 4th to early 8th century), middle (early 8th - early 11th) and late (early 11th - mid-15th). It is particularly the later section of this last period (i.e. the Palaiologan era : A.D. 1261-1453) which is the most densely « packed » section, although it still contains many secrets in the way of unpublished documents and manuscripts, according to D.M. Nicol (*The last centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, 2nd ed., Cambridge U.P., 1993, p. XI).

I. Early period (284/324-717)

284 ff.	Eusebios of Caesarea (d. c. 340)	Ecclesiastical history Oration on the 30th anniversary of Constantine the Great's reign (c. 336)	Covers period A.D. 1-324

Magnos of Carrae (4th c.)	History	Preserved in part ; detailed eyewitness account of Julian's Persian campaign of 362-363
Julian (emperor 361-363)	Orations and epistles	Important on contemporary events ; in support of paganism
Eunapios of Sardes (d.c. 420)	Histories	Preserved in part for A.D. 270-404 ; pagan outlook
Olympiodoros of Thebes (Egypt) (4th-5th cc.)	History	Preserved in part for A.D. 407-425
Zosimos (d. *post* 502)	*« New History »*	Covers period 27 B.C. (Augustus) - A.D. 410 (Alaric I's sack of Rome) (more detailed from Diocletian / A.D. 284 onwards) ; pagan outlook ; very important for Huns and Visigoths
Kandidos (5th-6th cc.)	Histories	Preserved in part for period A.D. 457-491 ; imp. details on Leo I's abortive Vandal campaign of 468
Priskos of Panium (d. c. 472)	*« Byzantiac history and the events regarding Attila »*	Preserved in part for A.D. 441 - c. 472 ; important eyewitness account

Malchos of Philadelphia (Palestine) (5th-6th cc.)	*« Byzantiaka »* (History)	Covers period from Constantine the Great until 480 (more detailed from 473 onwards) ; continues Priscus
Sokrates Scholastikos (d. c. 439)	Ecclesiastical history	Covers period A.D. 305/306-439
Sozomen(us) (1st half of 5th c.)	Ecclesiastical history	Originally covered period A.D. 33-439 ; only section 324-425 survives
Philostorgios (d. c. 433)	Ecclesiastical history	Survives in part for A.D. 324-425 ; Arianist viewpoint
Theodoret of Cyrrus (d. c. 466)	Ecclesiastical history	Covers period A.D. 325-428 (and partly until 434)
Theodore Anagnostes (6th c.)	Ecclesiastical history	Covers period A.D. 323-518 (for 323-439 epitomises Sokrates, Sozomen and Theodoret)
Palladios of Helenopolis (c. 364 - c. 431)	*« Lausiac history »* (c. 400)	On the origins of the monastic movement in Egypt
Athanasios I of Alexandria (328-373)	Various orations and treatises	Important details ; anti-Arian
John I Chrysostom (Patriarch of Constantinople 397/398-404, d. 407)	Speeches, letters	Important on contemporary events

Markos Diakonos (d. c. 430)	Life of Porphyrios of Gaza (d. c. 420)	On spread of Christianity in Syria ; preserved in 6th-7th cc. versions
	Acts of Ecumenical Councils (first four)	A.D. 325, 380/381, 431, 451
Themistios (d. 388)	Orations, speeches	On imperial power, etc.
Libanios (c. 314-c. 393)	Orations, speeches, letters	Important details on contemporaries (e.g. Julian) ; castigates Christianity
Synesios of Cyrene (d. 413)	Speeches and letters (to emperor Arcadius, to Alexandrian philosopher Hypatia, etc.)	Important for contemporary events
Lactance (d. between 320-340)	*« On the death of the persecutors »* (in Latin)	Important on the final persecutions of Christians, A.D. 305 until 313 (edict of Milan)
Ammianus Marcellinus (332 - c. 395)	*« The things that happened »* (*Res Gestae*, in Latin)	Originally commenced with A.D. 96 but only preserved for period 353-378 ; crucial eyewitness account for Byzantium's relations with Huns, Persians, Visigoths

Paulus Orosius (380 - c. 420)	*« History against Pagans »* (in Latin ; the first world chronicle by a western Christian author)	Covers period Creation - A.D. 417/418 ; imp. source for Theodosius I's division of the Empire in 395
Hydatius (c. 395 - d. *post* 468)	Chronicle (in Latin)	Covers period A.D. 379-468 (more details from 427 onwards based on eyewitness experience) ; on Vandal invasion of Iberian peninsula
Marcellinus comes (5th-6th cc.)	Chronicle (in Latin)	Important source for period A.D. 379-534
	Codex Theodosianus (A.D. 438)	The most important pre-Justinianic legal codification
	« Notes on the offices » (*Notitia Dignitatum*, in Latin ; c. 425)	Details on the civil administration, titles and offices of the early Byzantine centuries
Phaustos Byzantinus (fl. late 4th c.)	Armenian historian (in Armenian)	Covers period A.D. 317/319-387 ; on Byzantine-Persian wars and Armenian entanglement in them

Moses Khorenatzi (d. *post* 480)	Armenian historian (in Armenian)	Covers period Creation - A.D. c. 450 ; on Byzantine-Persian clash for occupation of Armenian territories
518 ff. — Peter Patrician (c. 500 - c. 565)	Histories	Preserved in part for period 31 B.C. - A.D. 358 (363). Important for peace negotiations (557, 561/562)
Procopius of Caesarea (c. 500 - d. *post* 562)	Report on his mission to the Persians	Covers period c. 527-554/555 ; in antiquarian Herodotean-Thucydidean style
	History of Wars (Vandal in N. Africa, Persian in the East, Ostrogothic in Italy, Visigothic in Spain)	Important on Justinian I's building policy ; cities, roads, fortifications, aqueducts, etc.
	« On the buildings » (c. 554)	Libellous against Justinian and Theodora — in sharp contrast to his previous eulogies !
	« Secret history » or *« Anecdota »*	Continues Procopius for period A.D. 552-558; important for Byzantium's contacts with Persians, Germans, Franks, Vandals, early Turks
Agathias Scholastikos (c. 536 - c. 582)	*« On the history of Justinian (I's) reign »*	

Menander Protector (6th c.)	*« Selections from embassies of nations to the Romans »* (c. 583/584)	Survives in part for period A.D. 558-582 (continues Agathias) ; trustworthy account on Empire's relations with Avars-Slavs, Persians and early Turks of central Asia
Theophylaktos Simokattes (6th - early 7th c.)	*« Ecumenical history »* (on the reign of emperor Maurice)	Continues Menander for period A.D. 582-602 ; detailed account on Byzantium's Persian and Avar-Slav wars
John Malalas (c. 491-578)	World chronicle (the oldest surviving example of vernacular Byzantine Greek — a veritable linguistic monument despite Krumbacher's old negative remarks)	Covers period Creation - A.D. 565 ; centers on the author's birthplace, Antioch, with important details on Byzantium's foreign relations, on earthquakes and natural phenomena, etc.
Nonnosos (6th c.)	Ethnological and geographical report on « Saracens » and « Abyssinians »	Survives in part with detailed information of Byzantine missions to the Arabs and Ethiopians (c. 553 A.D.)
John of Antioch (7th c.)	Chronicle	Survives in part ; covers period Creation - A.D. 610 ; imp. details on Vitalian's revolt of 514/515 and the reign of Phokas (602-610)

Evagrios Scholastikos (536 - c. 594)	Ecclesiastical history	Also valuable for secular/political history, it continues Sokrates, Sozomen and Theodoret [see above] and covers period A.D. 431-593 ; trustworthy account on 5th-6th cc. dogmatic issues
	Acts of 5th Ecumenical Council	A.D. 553
Anonymous (6th c.)	Life of Saint Gregentios, the Ethiopian (d. 552)	On Christianisation of Homerites in Arabia
Hierokles Grammatikos (1st half of 6th c.)	« *Synekdemos* » (*ante* 535)	Prescious political-geographical data on early Byzantine provinces and towns — used later extensively by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (10th c.)
George of Cyprus (6th-7th cc.)	Geographical manual	Political-administrative description of early Byzantine state (imp. on Italian and African provinces)
Justinian I (emperor 527-565) and counsellors (Tribonian, etc.)	« *Corpus of Civil Law* » (I : *Codex Justinianus* ; II : *Digest* ; III : *Institutions* ; IV : *Novellae*)	Most of the « *Novellae* » written in Greek ; the rest of the collection in Latin — indispensable value

Kosmas Indikopleustes (6th c.)	« *Christian topography* » (between 545-550)	Very important on Byzantium's contacts with the Oriental and African world — on commercial roots and products, mines, etc.
John Lydos (c. 490 - c. 560)	« *On the magistracies of the Roman state* » (c. 559/560)	Important on organisation of state services, titles and offices in early Byzantine period ; good prosopographical details (Cyrus Panopolites, John of Cappadocia, etc.)
(Pseudo-) Maurice (emperor : 582-602)	« *Strategikon* » (late 6th - early 7th c.)	On Byzantine troops, warfare, fighting techniques, etc. ; on the Empire's adversaries (Franks, Lombards, Avar-Slavs, Antae, Persians, early Turks)
Corripus (6th c.)	« *Johanniad, or On the Libyan wars* » (in Latin)	On Byzantine wars against Moors in N. Africa, A.D. 546-548
	Laudatory verses for emperor Justin II (565-578) (in Latin)	
Paul the Deacon (8th c.)	« *History of the Lombards* » (in Latin — *ante* 774)	Covers period until A.D. 555

Gregory of Tours (538-594)	*« History of the Franks »* (in Latin)	Covers period early 5th c. to A.D. 591 ; important on Byzantine-Frankish relations
Jordanes (6th c.)	*« On the origins and deeds of the Goths »* (in Latin)	Important ; preserves the chronicle of Cassiodorus (c. 490 - c. 585)
Joshua the Stylite (5th-6th cc.)	Chronicle (in Syriac)	Important on Persian wars of Anastasius I ; considered as precursor to Procopius' account of Justinianic wars
Zacharias of Mitylene (or Melitene ?) (d. 553)	Ecclesiastical history (in Syriac trans. ; originally in Greek)	Covers period A.D. 450-491 ; was continued by a 6th c. compiler for the period until 567/570
John of Ephesus (d. c. 586/588)	Ecclesiastical history (in Syriac)	Survives in part for period A.D. 521-585 (3rd year of Maurice's reign); originally commenced with Julius Caesar
Isaac (?) (6th c.)	*« The glory of kings »* (*Kebra Negast*, Monophysite Ethiopian collection of legends, trans. in 13th-14th cc. from Coptic original)	On Byzantine-Ethiopian contacts ; Justin I's pact with kingdom of Axum

610 ff. | George Pisides (1st part of 7th c.)	*« Heracleid »* (in verse)	Account of Persian wars of Herakleios I (622-628) and the Avar-Slav siege of Thessalonica (626)
Theodore Synkellos (1st part of 7th c.)	Oration on first anniversary of Avar-Slav siege of Constantinople in 626	Important details
Theophanes (see below)		
Nikephoros I (see below)		
Anonymous (7th c.)	*« Paschal Chronicle »* (or *« Alexandrian/Constantinopolitan Chronicle »*) (between 631-641)	Analytical chronological tables from Creation to A.D. 629 (preserved until 627/628 ; more details from 602 onwards) ; the first to utilise the dating system of « since Creation »
Anonymous (late 9th / late 11th c. ?)	*« Chronicle of Monemvasia »*	On Avar-Slav settlements in the Peloponnese from late 6th to early 9th cc. ; controversial, yet important source
John (bishop of Thessalonica) and anonymous disciple (between c. 620 - c. 680)	*« Miracles of Saint Demetrios »* (2 versions)	Extraordinary details on several Avar-Slav sieges of Thessalonica, late 6th - late 7th cc. ; prosopographical data

	Acts of Ecumenical Councils (6th and « *Penthekte* » : 5th/6th)	A.D. 680/681, 691/692
John Moschos (d. 619)	« *Leimon* » or « *New Paradise* »	On monasticism in early Byzantium ; biographies of most important personalities
Leontios of Neapolis (Cyprus) (d. 650)	Life of John the Merciful (Alexandria Patriarch 610-619)	On reception of fugitives in Egpt after Persian sack of Jerusalem (A.D. 614)
Maximos the Confessor (d. 662)	Treatises, epistles	Important on contemporary dogmatic issues
(late 7th - early 8th c.)	« *Farmer's law* » (probably compiled under Justinian II : 685-695, 705-711)	Useful manual on farming relations in Byzantium (free landownership and abolition of servitude) ; also on policeing regulations
(late 7th - early 8th c.)	« *Rhodian Sea Law* » (also probably in Justinian II's time)	Maritime law and function of maritime commercial enterprises
(late 7th - early 8th c.)	« *Military Laws* »	On organisation and discipline of Byzantine troops (liberation of slaves fighting for the state)

Isidore of Seville (c. 570-636)	« *History of Goths, Vandals and Suevi* » and « *Major chronicles* » (both in Latin)	Covers period Creation - early 7th c. ; contains important information on Slavonic settlements in Greece proper (Hellas and Morea) in early 7th c. (early reign of Herakleios I)
Ananias of Shirak (d. *post* 685)	Chronicle (in Armenian)	Contains interesting account on Trebizondine scientist Tychikos (c. 560 - c. 640) and his celebrated astronomy and mathematics courses
Sebeos (7th c.)	« *History of Herakleios* » (in Armenian)	Covers the period from reign of Maurice 582 (onwards) to 661 ; important on early Muslim conquests in Persia and the Byzantine Orient
John of Nikiu (Egypt) (late 7th - early 8th c.)	World chronicle (originally in Coptic ; survives in 11th c. Ethiopian trans.)	Covers period Creation - Arab conquest of Egypt (639/645), but unfortunately the section 610-640 is missing !
Mwengo (?) (date ?)	« *Epic of Herakleios* » (*Chuo cha Herekali*), in African Swahili verse, probably translated from Arabic prose original	On Arab wars of emperor Herakleios I ; details unknown to other sources

Anonymous (c. 700)	*« Narration of Armenian things »* (survives only in Greek trans.)	On Byzantine-Armenian ecclesiastical relations for period A.D. 325-700
Agapius of Hierapolis (Mabbug/Manbidj) (d. c. 950)	World chronicle (in Persian/Arabic versions)	Important on Byzantine-Muslim relations in 6th to mid-8th c.
al-Azdi al-Basri (d. *post* 810)	Chronicle (in Arabic)	Crucial for Arab conquest of Byzantine Syria, A.D. 636
al-Baladhuri (d. 892/893)	*« Book of (Muslim) conquests »* (in Arabic)	Covers period from Prophet Muhammad (622) to A.D. 838, with important complementary details to Byzantine sources on 7th-9th cc. Byzantine-Muslim warfare ; one of the most important Arabic sources, with al-Tabari [see below]
al-Firdawsi (d. c. 1020/1026)	*« Book of Kings »* (in Pesian)	Though a much later source, it contains details on early 7th - c. Byzantine-Persian war (Herakleios-Chosroes II) ; also on Muslim capture of Persia, A.D. 637-651/652

II. Middle period (717-1025)

717 ff. — Theophanes the Confessor (c. 752 - c. 817/818)	Chronography (c. 810 - 814 ; later trans. into Latin / 9th c.)	Covers period A.D. 284-813 (continues George Synkellos) ; invaluable source for 7th, 8th and early 9th cc., famous and extensively read in Byzantium ; basic for Byzantium's relations with Persians, Arabs, Franks, Bulgarians, etc. ; pro-iconophile
Nikephoros I (Patriarch of Constantinople, 806-815)	*« Brief history »*	Continues Theophylact Simokattes ; covers period A.D. 602-769 ; succinct and more objective than Theophanes ; pro-iconophile
George Hamartolōs the Monk (fl. 842-867)	World chronicle	Covers period Creation - A.D. 842 (more detailed for 813 onwards) ; continued by anonymous 10th-c. author for period 842-948 (later version carries narrative down to 1143)
Anonymous (9th c.)	Narration on emperor Nikephoros (I)	Detaled account of emperor Nikephoros I's defeat by Bulgars in A.D. 811

Anonymous (9th c. ?)	Chronicle of the reign of Leo V Armenios	Pro-iconophile ; covers period A.D. (811) 813-820
Anonymous (10th - early 11th c.)	Akritic epic (« *Basil Digenes Akritas* ») and « *Song of Armoures* » (versed)	On epic wars of Byzantium against Arabs in 8th-9th cc. ; Armoures associated with emperor Michael III (842-867) (H. Grégoire)
Germanos (Patriarch of Constantinople, 715-730, d. 733)	Epistles	On Iconoclasm
John of Damascus (d. c. 749)	« *Fountain of Knowledge* » ; oration and epistles	On heresies and veneration of icons
Anonymous (8th c. ?)	« *Against Constantine Dung-name* » (*Adversus Constantinum Cabalinum*)	Severe criticism of emperor Constantine V's intense iconoclast policy
Theodore Stoudites (759-826)	Orations and epistles	Important for 2nd phase of Iconoclasm
	Acts of 7th Ecumenical Council	A.D. 787 ; temporary victory of iconophiles
Stephen the Deacon (fl. 808)	Life of Stephen the Younger (d. 767)	On iconoclast persecutions of Constantine V

Theostēriktos (Niketas' disciple) (mid-9th c. ?)	Life of Niketas of Bithynia (d. 824)	On 2nd Iconoclasm
Niketas Amniates (fl. c. 821-822)	Life of Philaretos the Merciful (d. 792)	On Byzantium's internal affairs (society)
Euōdios the monk (9th c.)	Acts of the 42 Martyrs of Amorium (d. between 838 and 845/846)	Important source for Byzantine-Arab relations
Anonymous (9th c.)	Life of Patriarch Ignatios (847-858 ; 867-877)	Important on contemporary affairs (Ignatios was first replaced by and then succeeded Photios)
Anonymous (9th c.)	Lives of Saints Cyril and Methodios	On Christianisation missions among the Khazars, Bulgars and Moravians
	« *Notes on the bishoprics* » (*Notitia episcopatuum*) (c. 800 and later)	On ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Empire ; offices and titles
Photios (Patriarch of Constantinople : 858-867 ; 877-886)	Epistles to pope Nicholas I (858-867) and other contemporaries ; orations, speeches ; « *Myriobiblos* »	Very important on ecclesiastical/ dogmatic contemporary affairs ; notes on older historical works
Adrian I (Pope : 772-795)	Epistles to Byzantine emperors and Charlemagne (in Latin)	On Iconoclasm

	« Ecloga », legal collection promulgated under Leo III the Isaurian (A.D. 726/741)	Based on Justinianic law with important new reforms and social measures
Methodios I (Patriarch of Constantinople : 842/843-847) (?)	*« Synodikon of Orthodoxy »* (A.D. 843)	On the definitive restoration of icon worship
Gregory II (Pope : 715-731)	Epistles to Leo III and Patriarch Germanos (their authenticity questioned) (in Latin)	On Iconoclasm
Anonymous (8th c. ?)	Life of Pope Gregory III (731-741)	Byzantium's ecclesiastical relations with Rome vis-à-vis Iconoclasm
Leontios-Gevond (d. *post* 788)	Armenian history (in Armenian)	Covers period 632-788/789 ; important on 8th-c. Byzantine-Armenian relations (eyewitness account)
Thomas Artzruni (d. *post* 936)	*« Armenian history of the House of Artsrunik »* (in Armenian)	Covers period Creation - A.D. 906 ; important on Byzantine-Armenian relations, especially of 9th c.

Pseudo-Dionysios of Tell-Mahré (Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch : 818-845)	Ecclesiastichal chronicle (in Syriac)	Covers period Biblical times - A.D. 775 (and in part until 842) : important on Byzantine-Arab relations in 8th c.
Eutychios/Said al-Batrik (Melkite Patriarch of Antioch : 933-940)	Chronicle (in Arabic)	Covers period till A.D. 937 ; important on Byzantine-Arab relations
al-Tabari (839-923)	World chronicle (in Arabic)	Covers period Creation - A.D. 923 ; very important on Muslim conquests of 7th c., of Byzantine-Arab relations (7th-8th-9th cc.), on the « holy war » (*jihad*) of Muslims in the confrontation areas (*« thughur »* and *« awāsim »*) ; details on early Byzantine « Themes » of Anatolia
Ibn Khordadbeh (d. c. 912)	*« Books of routes and kingdoms »* (Geography)	Important details on Anatolian Byzantine « Thematic » system ; Byzantine troops, their wages and taxation — used in 12th c. by al-Idrīsī [see below] for his maps

867 ff — Various authors (among them emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos himself)	The Continuators of Theophanes (in 10th c. under aegis of Constantine VII)	Covers period A.D. 813-961/962 ; basic source for Amorian and Macedonian dynasties — especially relations with Bulgars and Arabs
Joseph Genesios (10th c.)	*« On the reigns »* (between 945-959)	Covers period A.D. 813-886 (also a continuator of Theophanes) ; laudatory remarks for Basil I, founder of Macedonian dynasty ; important details on Byzantine-Bulgarian relations
Symeon Magister and Logothete or Pseudo-Symeon (d. *post* 982)	World chronicle	Covers period Creation - A.D. 962/963 ; important source for late 9th-10th cc.
Leo Grammatikos (10th-11th cc.)	Chronicle (based on Pseudo-Symeon)	Covers period Creation - A.D. 948/949
Theodosios Melitenos (10th c.)	Chronicle (associated with Pseudo-Symeon and Leo Grammatikos)	Creation - A.D. 948 (death of Romanos I Lekapenos)
	Acts of Church Councils of 869/870 and 879	Important on Constantinople-Rome relations, especially on Bulgarian ecclesiastical issue

John Kameniates or Kaminiates (9th - early 10th c.)	*« On the fall of Thessalonica »* (to the « Saracens » = Muslims)	A.D. 904 ; important eyewitness account of the whole operation and its aftermath
Leo VI the Wise (emperor : 886-912)	*« Taktika »* (*post* 904)	On art of war and Byzantine troops ; utilised *« Strategikon »* of Pseudo-Maurice [see above]
Anonymous (late 9th - early 10th cc.)	*« Eparch's Book »*	Important on commercial and economic relations and guilds of Constantinople
Leo Choirosphāktes (c. 850 - c. 919)	Letters to emperor Leo VI, to tsar Symeon of Bulgaria and other eminent figures	Important source
Nicholas I Mystikos (Patriarch of Constantinople : 901-907 and 911/912-925)	Correspondence with Romanos I Lekapenos, popes, the Muslim emir of Crete, tsar Symeon of Bulgaria and other eminent figures	Very important source
Romanos I Lekapenos (emperor : 920-944)	Letters to Bulgarian tsar Symeon ; promulgated laws in favour of small landholders	Important on Byzantine-Bulgarian relations of period A.D. 913-925

Philotheos (9th - early 10th c.)	*« Kleitorolōgion »* (c. 899-900)	On civil and military hierarchy (titles, offices) : on « Thematic » administration (lists 25 Themes)
Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (emperor 913/945-959)	a) *« De administrando imperio »* *(« On the administration of the Empire »)* ; b) *« De thematibus »* (based on *« Synekdemos »* pf Hierocles : see above) ; c) *« De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae »* *(« On the ceremonies of the Byzantine court »)*	Very important source for the Empire's contacts and relations with foreign powers (Arabs, Khazars, Bulgars, Hungarians, Uzes, Patzinaks, etc.) ; on the provincial administration and the « Themes » of Anatolia, the Balkans and Italy ; on the various ceremonies performed in the royal court : a veritable mine of information on offices, titles, military tactics, the army, etc.
Anonymous authors (compilers) (9th-10th cc.)	*« Taktika : Taktikon Uspensky »* (A.D. 842/843) ; *« T. Beneshevitch »* (A.D. 934/944) ; and *« T. Escorial »* (A.D. 971-975)	Very important on hierarchical lists/Thematic divisions and pertinent officials
Anonymous (10th c. ?)	Life of Patriarch Euthymios I (907-911/912, d. 917)	Important on contemporary events (Leo VI's reign)
Anonymous (late 10th c.)	Life of Saint Luke of Steiris (d. 953)	Important on the history of central Hellas in 10th c.

	Legal codes of Macedonian dynasty (Basil I and Leo VI) : *« Epanagogē »* and *« Prōcheiron »* (Handy Law) (870/879) ; Leo VI's *« Basilika »* (888) and *« Novellae »*	Important collections ; in support of small landholdings — employ lots of Isaurian laws [see above : *« Ecloga »*]
Peter of Sicily (9th c.)	*« History of the vane heresy of the Manichaeans, also called Paulicians »*	Important on 9th-c. Byzantine-Paulician relations
John (Hovhannes) of Drashanakert (Armenian Patriarch : 897/898-929)	Armenian history (in Armenian)	Covers period Creation - A.D. 923/924 ; on Byzantine-Armenian relations of late 9th - early 10th cc. ; on correspondence of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (surviving in Armenian trans.)
Kudama (10th c.)	*« Book of taxes »* (in Arabic ; between 928-932)	Complements Ibn Khordadbeh [see above] on Byzantine Anatolian « Themes » ; on Arab raids in Byzantine territories of Asia Minor
Harun ibn Yahya (d. *post* 900)	*« Book of precious things »* (in Arabic)	Important reference to Constantinople and its monuments ; on Muslim prisoners of war in Byzantium

Ibn al-Fakih (d. *post* 902/903)	*« Book of the lands »* (in Arabic)	On « Thematic » system of Asia Minor and Byzantine-Arab relations
al-Masudi (d. between 946/947 and 956/957)	*« Valleys of gold and mines of precious stones/gems »* (in Arabic ; between 943-946/947)	On 7th - 1st half of 10th-c. Byzantine-Muslim relations ; on « Thematic » system of Byzantine Anatolia
959 ff. Leo Diakonos (d. *post* 992)	History	Covers period A.D. 959-976 ; basic source for Byzantium's epic wars under Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) and John I Tzimiskes (969-976) against Muslims and northern adversaries ; relations with Bulgars, Russians and Muslims of Syria (Hamdanids) — continued by Psellos [see below]
John Skylitzes [see below]		
Michael Psellos [see below]		
Nikephoros II Phokas (emperor : 963-969)	*« On the speed of warfare »*	Important on Byzantine fighting tactics
Nikephoros Ouranōs (fl. 979-1001)	*« On the tactics of warfare »*	Important source/details

Pseudo-Basil II « Bulgar-slayer » (emperor : 976-1025)	Documents on the status of the Ochrid archbishopric (c. 1020)	On the initial stages of Bulgaria's annexation by Byzantium (1014/1018 onwards)
Anonymous (12th c. ?)	Life of Nikon the « Repent » (d. c. 998 or c. 1005)	Important source on later 10th-c. Helladic and Peloponnesian affairs
Liutprand of Cremona (d. c. 972)	*« Antapodosis »* (A.D. 948) and *« Legation to Constantinople »* (A.D. 968) (in Latin)	Important details of his visits to courts of Constantine VII and Nikephoros II Phokas ; the latter contains libellous remarks against Byzantium
Pseudo-Nestor (1056-1113)	Old Russian Chronicle (*« Narration on the previous years »*) (in old Slavonic)	Byzantine-Russian political/commercial contacts, A.D. 860-941 : on Russian Christianisation, A.D. 988/989
Stephen of Taron (d. early 11th c.)	Ecumenical history (in Armenian)	Covers period Biblical times - early 11th c. ; Muslim campaigns of Nikephoros II and John I ; Bulgarian wars of Basil II
Gergory of Narek (d. 1103/1110)	*« History of the Holy Cross of Aparank »* (in Armenian)	A pro-Byzantine account of Basil II's early reign (A.D. 976-985)

Paul of Taron (d. c. 1122/1123)	Correspondence (in Armenian)	On Byzantine-Armenian dogmatic issues ; on Tondrakian heresy and settlements in Thrace by John I Tzimiskes
Elias of Nisibis (d. 1049/1050)	Chronicle (in Syriac/Arabic)	Covers period Creation - A.D. 1018 ; on Muslim 10th-11th c. raids of pillage (« *razzias* ») and on Byzantine-Hamdanid wars (10th c.)
al-Mutanabi (d. 965)	Verses on Muslim « holy war » (« *djihad* ») against Byzantium (in Arabic)	Byzantine-Hamdanid relations
Abu Firas al-Hamdani (d. 968)	« *Roman elegies* » (epic verses) (in Arabic)	Important source on Byzantine-Hamdanid wars
Ibn Haukal (d. *post* 986)	Geography (in Arabic)	On Byzantine-Muslim wars and the « Themes » of Asia Minor
Anonymous Persian (10th c.)	« *The boundaries of the world* » (*Hudud al-alam*) (in Persian ; c. 982)	Important information on Byzantine « Themes » and troops ; on Byzantium's relations with its northern neighbours !

al-Mukaddasi or al-Makdisi (d. c. 1000)	« *Knowledge of lands* » (in Arabic ; 986)	On Byzantine-Arab contacts and naval confrontations ; on exchanges of prisoners
Kadi al-Rashid (d. c. 1071)	« *Book of treasures* » (in Arabic)	Analytical account of Byzantine-Arab diplomatic embassies from Maurice (late 6th) to Basil II (early 11th c.)
III. Later period (1025-1461)		
1025 ff. Michael Psellos (1018-1078 [1095 ?])	« *Chronographia* » (Chronicle)	A.D. 976-1077 (more detailed from 1041/1042) Continues Leo the Deacon (see above) Supports civil bureaucracy
John Skylitzes (11th - early 12th c.)	Historical survey	A.D. 811-1057 (particularly important from 948 ; very important on Empire's external affairs)
Continuator of John Skylitzes	Historical survey	A.D. 1057-1079 (based mainly on Attaleiates (see below), but also on Psellos)

George Kedrenos (11th - early 12th c.)	Historical survey	Creation - A.D. 1057 (from 811 he copied Skylitzes almost *verbatim*)
Michael Attaleiates (c. 1015 - c. 1079)	History	A.D. 1034-1079 (more detailed from 1068) ; detailed on Seljuk advance in Anatolia. Supports feudal military aristocracy, as opposed to Psellos (see above)
Nikephoros Bryennios (1062-1137)	« *Historical material* »	A.D. 1070-1079 (continued by his wife, Anna Komnene : see below)
Constantine Manasses (12th c., d. c. 1187)	Historical survey (in verse) Various orations (addressed to Manuel I Komnenos and other contemporaries)	Creation - A.D. 1081 His orations important on Byzantium's 12th c. relations with Seljuks, Patzinaks, Hungarians and Crusaders of the Holy Land and Syria
Christophoros Mytilenaios (c. 1000 - c. 1050)	Poems, epigrams	Important prosopographical information on famous contemporaries (e.g. the rebel-general George Maniakes)
John Mavrōpous (c. 1000 - c. 1075)	Epistles, orations, poems	Important on contemporary events

Kekaumenos (c. 1020 - d. *post* 1078)	« *Strategikon* » and Counselling oration (to emperor Michael VII)	Important on contemporary events
Eustathios Boilas (11th c. ; died 1079)	Will (1059)	Important on Empire's eastern provinces
Michael I Keroularios (Patriarch : 1043-1058)	Correspondence with Pope Leo IX and Cardinal Humbert ; « *Dogmatic armour* » (of Orthodoxy)	Crucial source for the Great Schism of 1054
Leo IX (Pope : 1049-1054)	Correspondence with Byzantine emperor Constantine IX	On the causes of the Great Schism
Aristakes of Lastivert (d. *post* 1072)	Armenian history (in Armenian)	A.D. 1000-1071/1072 Important on Byzantine-Armenian-Georgian-Seljuk relations (battle of Mantzikert, 1071)
Yahya of Antioch (d. 1066)	Arab chronicle (in Arabic)	A.D. 938-1028 or 1034 (last section/1034-1066/lost) Important for Byzantine-Arab relations ; also for Russian Christianisation and Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria

Imad al-Din	Chronicle (in Arabic)	Details on Byzantine-Seljuk relations (detailed account of battle of Mantzikert, 1071)
1081 ff. | John Zonaras (late 11th - mid-12th c., d. between 1150-1160)	Historical compilation	Creation - A.D. 1118 (based on Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* : see below)
Anna Komnene (1083 - c. 1153/1154)	« *Alexiad* »	A.D. 1069/1070-1118 (continues the account of her husband, Nikephoros Bryennios : see above) Detailed history of Alexios I Komnenos' reign (1081-1118)
Michael Glykās (12th - early 13th c., d. *ante* 1204)	« *Chronicle book* »	Creation - A.D. 1118 (brief survey of Byzantine period)
John Kinnamos (c. 1143 - c. 1203)	Historical compilation	A.D. 1118-1176 (ends abruptly before battle of Myriokephalon) Continues (with Niketas Choniates) Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* Basic source for 12th c.

Niketas Choniates (c. 1155 - c. 1216/1217)	Narrative chronicle ; « *On the busts* » (on Crusader devastations in Constantinople, in 1204) Orations, speeches, etc.	A.D. 1118-1207 (more detailed from 1143) Extremely important and detailed source-also a monument of literary style ; details on Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204)
Eustathios of Thessalonica (12th c., d. c. 1194/1195)	« *On the fall of Thessalonica* » Orations, speeches, etc.	A.D. 1185 (Norman conquest)
Theophȳlaktos of Ochrid (metropolitan : 1088/1089-1126)	Epistles/orations	Important on the Empire's provincial affairs (Macedonia) in Alexios I Komnenos' reign
Theodoros Prodromos (c. 1100-1156/1158 or c. 1170)	Historical poems	Important details on John II Komnenos's campaigns in Asia Minor and on Manuel I Komnenos
Michael Italikos (d. *ante* 1157)	Speeches, letters (to John II, Manuel I and various court officials — also to Theodoros Prodromos)	Important on contemporary events
George Tornikes (c. 1110/1120-1156/1157 or 1166/1167)	Letters to pope (on Union) and to ecclesiastical contemporaries	Important prosopographical data

Nikephoros Basilakes (c. 1115 - d. *post* 1182)	Speeches, letters and laudatory orations (encomiums) for patriarch and court officials	Important on contemporary events
Michael of Thessalonica (*floruit* 1150-1155/1156)	Orations (to Manuel I)	Important on contemporary events
John Syropoulos (12th c. ; d. *post* 1192)	Oration (to Isaakios II Angelos)	Important details — typical example of the period's court rhetoric
Michael Choniates (archbishop of Athens : c. 1182-1204, d. 1222)	Orations, speeches, encomiums (to various important officials of his time)	Fundamental source for social-economic conditions prevailing in southern Greece (late 12th - early 13th cc.)
Euthymios Malākes c. 1115 - d. *ante* 1204	Theological treatises, orations, epistles, monodies	Information on Hungarians, Cumans and Seljuks in Manuel I's reign
Neōphytos the « Recluse » (c. 1130-1224)	« *Typikon* » (Will)	Fundamental on the last years of Byzantine rule in Cyprus before the Latin conquest of A.D. 1191/1192

Nicholas of Methone (d. c. 1165)	Theological treatises, Lives of Saints (Hosios Meletios the Younger)	Important on the Empire's provincial monasticism, on Balkan heresies and on Alexios I Komnenos' wars against Turkish tribes in Balkans (Cumans)
Christodoulos of Patmos (c. 1020 - c. 1093)	« *Typikon* » of Patmos monastery (of Saint John)	Important information on contemporary events, church property and officials, landholdings, etc.
Theodore Balsamōn (c. 1130/1140 - d. *post* 1195)	Canonical legal treatises, letters, epigrams	Important details on patriarchal services and offices/titles : also on contemporary cultural life
William of Apulia (*floruit* late 11th c. / c. 1100)	« *The deeds of Robert Guiscard* » (Norman ruler of Italy) (in Latin)	A.D. 1017-1085 Important on first Norman invasion of the Ionian islands and western Greece (1081-1085)
Anonymous (late 11th - early 12th cc.)	« *The deeds of the Franks and other Hierosolymitans* » (in Latin)	Major source for First Crusade (A.D. 1096-1099) Details on Byzantine-Crusader contacts

Snorri Sturlusson (from Iceland !) 1179-1241	Sagas of Norwegian kings	Important and unique information on 12th-c. Byzantine-Patzinak war of 1122-1123
Anonymous Priest of Dioclea (2nd part of 12th c.)	Chronicle (in Latin)	On conditions prevailing among the Slavonic peoples of Balkans
Saint Sabbas/Stefan the « First-Crowned » and others (Serbians)	Lives of Stefan Nemanja and Saint Sabbas (in Slavonic)	On the founders of the Serbian Nemanid dynasty and Serbo-Byzantine contacts
Matthew of Edessa (d. between 1138-1144)	Chronicle (in Armenian)	A.D. 952/962-1136/1137 Valuable for Byzantine-Arab and Byzantine-Seljuk relations ; also on Byzantine-Armenian and Byzantine Crusader contacts — intense anti- Byzantine feelings
Michael the Syrian (d. 1199), Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (1166-1199)	Chronicle (in Syriac)	Creation - A.D. 1195/1196 Very important source ; negative towards Byzantium, considers the coming of the Turks as « Divine Providence » on account of the Empire's sins !

Muhammad al-Idrisi (d. c. 1165/1166)	*« Book of Roger »* (= Roger II, Norman king of Sicily) (in Arabic)	Important details on Byzantine Helladic provinces during his itinerary in the East, c. 1153-1154 ; imp. maps
Ibn Jubair (d. 1217)	Geography (Itinerary) (in Arabic)	Important information on Byzantium's relations with Normans, Genoese, Seljuks, etc. ; information on Byzantium's towns and islands
al-Hakani (d. 1199)	Panegyric odes and verses (in Arabic)	Information on Byzantine emperors Manuel I and Andronikos I during his visit to Constantinople for theological disputations
Anonymous (mid-13th c.)	*« Book of the Danishmend (Turks) »*	On Byzantine-Seljuk-Danishmendid relations in the late 11th c.
Abu Shama (d. 1267/1268)	Chronicle of the Crusades (in Arabic)	On Byzantium's relations with Crusader states, with Nureddin and Saladin

Benjamin of Tudela (d. *post* 1173)	*« Book of Travels »* (in Hebrew)	Important details on several Byzantine Helladic areas during his itinerary in the East (c. 1165-1166) — register of Hebrew communities and families in Constantinople and the Empire's provinces
1204 ff. (Mixed Crusader-Venetian committee)	Partition document of *« Romania »* (October 1204)	Details on the division of Byzantine lands following the conquest of Constantinople
Geoffrey of Villehardouin (c. 1152/1154 - d. between 1212-1218)	Chronicle of the conquest of Constantinople (1204) (in old French)	A.D. 1199-1207 Detailed account of Fourth Crusade (1201-1204) — complementary source of Niketas Choniates, but projecting the Latins' viewpoint
Robert de Clari (12th - early 13th cc., d. *post* 1216)	Chronicle of the conquest of Constantinople (1204) (in old French)	A.D. 1197/1198-1216 (detailed for 1201-1205) Crucial details on relics and monuments seized by the Crusaders from Constantinople

Henri de Valenciennes (12th-13th cc., *floruit* 1200/1210)	*« History of Henry (of Flanders), Latin emperor of Constantinople »* (in old French)	A.D. 1207-1209 Continuator of Villehardouin
George Akropolites (1217-1282)	Chronicle Orations on Church Union Epitaphs	A.D. 1203-1261 Basic narrative source on exiled Nicaean Empire Continuator of Niketas Choniates
Theodore Skoutariotes (metropolitan of Kyzikos : 1261 - c. 1284)	Chronicle survey	Creation - A.D. 1261 (more detailed and quite useful from 1118 onwards ; based to a large extent on Kinnamos, Niketas Choniates and Akropolites) Julius Caesar - A.D. 1261 (with additional ecclesiastical lists until 1313)
Ephraim from Ainos (13th - early 14th cc., d. *post* 1313)	Chronography (in verse)	A.D. 1204/1205-1292 Characteristic token of versed vernacular Very important information of the first century of Latin domination in the Peloponnese ; also on feudal institutions implanted there
Anonymous (1st half of 14th c.)	*« Chronicle of the Morea »* (in Greek : also old French, Italian and Aragonese versions)	

Nicholas Mesarites (1163/1164 - d. between 1220 and 1230)	Epitaphs, orations and dogmatic treatises (on ecclesiastical relations between Nicaea and « Romania »)	Important details on period A.D. 1207-1214/1215 (ecclesiastical negotiations)
Nikephoros Blemmȳdes (1197-1272) (« a cantankerous monk of stupendous learning » — R. Browning)	Two autobiographies (1264, 1265), correspondence, « *Royal bust* » treatise (on the emperor's duties), geographical treatises	Important on contemporary events Teacher of Akropolites and Theodore II
Theodore II Doukas Laskaris (emperor : 1254-1258)	Correspondence, theological treatises, obituaries and laudatory orations (esp. on the city of Nicaea)	Important information (influenced by his teacher, Blemmȳdes)
John Apōkaukos (c. 1155 - c. 1233)	Correspondence (with first Epeirot rulers and scholars of his time)	Very important source for first decades of autonomous Epeirot state ; also on relations between Nicaea-Epeiros ; on Serbs, Bulgars, etc.
Demetrios Chomatianōs (archbishop of Ochrid : 1216/1217-1236)	Canonist, author of epistles to Nicaean patriarch, the Serbs, etc.	Important on contemporary events He crowned in 1224 Theodore of Epeiros as emperor of Thessalonica

George Bardānes (metropolitan of Kērkyra/Corfu : 1219 - c. 1238/1239)	Correspondence (to Epeirot rulers, to Frederic II of Germany, etc.)	Student of Michael Choniates, provides important details on Nicaean-Epeirot ecclesiastical controversy (1217-1233)
John Loukites (d. c. 1340)	Orations and laudatory speeches (for Alexios II of Trebizond)	Important details on the Trebizondine Empire's relations with Abasgians of Caucasus, Turkomans and Genoese (see below : Panaretos)
Andrew Libadenōs (c. 1310/1315 - d. *post* 1361)	« *Itinerary* »	Very important information on contemporary Byzantium/Constantinople, Trebizond and the Pontos, etc.
Frederic II (German Holy Roman emperor : 1212/1220-1250)	Four letters (to John III of Nicaea and Michael II of Epeiros) (in Greek !)	Important on Byzantium's relations with the Western Empire
Marino Sanudo (from Venice) (d. 1343)	« *Istoria del Regno di Romania* » (Italian trans. of lost Latin original)	Detailed narrative on Greece's first decades of Latin domination after 1204 ; valuable on Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople (1261) ; propagator of the idea of an anti-Turkish alliance and Crusade !

Sempad, the « Royal Historian » (d. 1276)	Chronicle (of Armenians) (in Armenian)	A.D. 951-1272/1276 Important on Byzantium's relations with Armenian Cilicia, the Crusaders and the Seljuks of Rûm (early 13th c.)
Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286)	*« Catholic (= World) history »* (in Syriac)	Creation - A.D. 1286 Fundamental on 13th-c. Mongol invasions ; also important details on 1261 reconquest of Constantinople (the Byzantine recapture is regarded as a usurpation !)
Ibn al-Athir (1160-1233)	World history (in Arabic)	Creation - A.D. 1231 Fundamental on 11th-12th - early 13th-c. Byzantine-Arab-Crusader-Seljuk relations ; early Mongol invasions described as « worst disaster wrought on humanity »
Ibn Bibi (d. *post* 1284/1285)	*« Book of the Seljuks »* (in Persian ; abridged by the 15th-c. Ottoman chronicler Yazijioghlu Ali : *« History of the Seljuks »*)	A.D. 1190/1192-1280/1282 The best Oriental source on 13th-c. relations between Byzantium and the Rûm Seljuk sultanate

Aflaki or Eflaki (d. 1360)	*« The virtues of the Gnostics »* (in Persian)	On the founder of the Mevlevis, Jelaleddin Rumi (1207-1273), and his Greek influences (esp. on Seljuk monuments of the Rûm Seljuks in Ikonion/Konya, etc.)
Akseray (d. *post* 1323)	Chronicle (in Persian)	On Byzantine-Seljuk relations (esp. on Byzantine officials in Konya's court in 1246-1257)
1261 ff. | Michael VIII Palaiologos (emperor 1259/ 1261-1282)	Autobiographical notes	Important details, though self-laudatory
George Pachymēres (1242 - c. 1310)	Composition of histories	A.D. 1255/1261-1307/1308 Basic source on early Palaiologan era-both political and ecclesiastical affairs Continuator of Akropolites
Nikephoros Gregorās (c. 1290/1295 - c. 1359/1360)	*« Rhomaic [= Byzantine] history »*, several epistles to various contemporary personalities	A.D. 1204-1359 (more detailed from 1320) Major source for 14th-c. developments Continuator of Pachymeres - contemporary source with Kantakouzenōs

John VI Kantakouzenōs (emperor 1347-1354, d. 1383)	Histories (memoirs), various theological treatises (e.g. against Islam and Jews)	A.D. 1320-1356 Important details, though sometimes self-eulogising and impartial Stylistic imitation of Thucydides
Michael Panāretos (c. 1320 - c. 1390)	*« On the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond »*	A.D. 1204 - c. 1390 (continued by anonymous author until 1426) ; fundamental for the Trebizondine Empire (unfortunately little information for period 1204 - c. 1280)
George (= Gregory II) of Cyprus (patriarch : 1283-1289)	Autobiography, correspondence, panegyric orations	Important on dogmatic issues
Athanasios I (patriarch : 1289-1293 and 1304-1310)	Correspondence	Important on contemporary ecclesiastical/dogmatic affairs
Nikephoros Choūmnos (c. 1250-1327)	Correspondence, encomiums ; also compiler of official documents in Byzantine court	Important on Byzantium's relations with Serbs ; also on Byzantine legal system reformations
Theodore Metochites (1270-1332)	Encomiums (e.g. on Nicaea), reports on official Byzantine embassies (e.g. in Serbia)	Important contemporary imformation Rhetorical style

Maximos Planoūdes (1260 - c. 1305/1310)	Laudatory orations, epigrams, letters ; also translated Latin authors into Greek	Important information on various literary aspects ; also on early Turkoman conquests in western Anatolia (early 14th c.)
Manuel Moschōpoulos (1265-1316)	Treatises against Latins, epistles	Important literary style, on the footsteps of his teacher Planoūdes
Manuel Holōbolos (c. 1240 - d. *post* 1284)	Laudatory orations and verses (for Michael VIII and Andronikos II)	Interesting details in rhetorical style
Manuel Philēs (c. 1275 - c. 1345)	Epigrams, poems, reports on imperial diplomatic missions (e.g. to Russia, Persia, India !)	Important pieces of information with prosopographical details
Thomas Māgistros (*floruit* c. 1275, d. *paulo post* 1346)	Treatises on kingship and polity	Important on Byzantine imperial administration
George (Pseudo-) Kodinos (14th c.)	On the offices of the palace of Constantinople	Basic source on Byzantine courtly and military titles and offices ; on ceremonial (of comparable merit to the 9th-c. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos: see above, section II)

Constantine Armenōpoulos (1320-1383)	« *Hexābiblos* » (= Six books) (publ. 1345)	Basic legal manual of that era (civil and penal laws)
Matthew Blāstares (c. 1280, d. between 1346 and 1350)	Canonist, author of a legal « *Constitution* » (publ. between 1349-1355)	Very important collection, it was then translated into Serbian as « *Stefan Dushan's code* »
Alexios Makrembolites (d. between 1349-1353)	« *Dialogue between the rich and the poor* »	Important facts on social problems of the time ; on the predicament of poorer classes
Gregory Sinaites (c. 1255, d. *post* 1337/1340 or 1346/1347)	Treatises/founder of the Hesychast movement	Moderate views on the movement
Gregory Palamās (archbishop of Thessalonica : 1351-1359, d. 1359)	Treatises/orations, speeches in support of Hesychasm (« Palamism » !)	The real promoter of the movement ; influenced several great scholars of his age, but also created vehement opponents (see here, below)
Philotheos Kōkkinos (patriarch : 1354-1355 and 1364-1376)	Theological treatises, orations, speeches in support of Hesychasm/Palamism	Important for its polemic against the anti-hesychasts (he was instrumental in Palamas' canonisation, in 1368)

Neilos Kabāsilas (c. 1298 - c. 1368)	Pro-Hesychast treatises (one of them in refutation of the anti-Hesychast historiographer Gregoras)	Important details
Nicholas Kabāsilas (1320-1390)	Several treatises in support of Hesychasm/Palamism ; also author of a possible anti-Zealot discourse (against the « Zealots » of Thessalonica : 1347-1349), as well as of treatises against usury and usurers	Important on contemporary events ; recent researchers see in the anti-Zealot discourse Kabāsilas' protest against imperial policy of expropriating ecclesiastical/ monastic property !
Barlaam of Calabria (c. 1290 - c. 1350)	Anti-Hesychast treatises (he was denounced by Palamas himself, 1341)	Inaugurated attacks on Hesychasm, but 1341 Synod at Constantinople consumed his writings in pyre !
Gregory Akindynos (1300-1349)	« *Antirrhetical* » treatises, against « the most cunning heresies of Palamas » (!)	Important information and views, since the author was formerly a Palamite
Demetrios Kydōnes (1320/1324-1397/1398)	Various treatises, orations and speeches on various issues (also a « *Monody on those slain in Thessalonica* » during Zealot rule : 1342-1349)	Very important views against Palamism, with neoplatonic and unionist overtones (like his student Kalekas) ; staunch anti-Zealot stance

Manuel Kalēkas (14th - early 15th c., d. 1403/1410)	Correspondence	Unionist and intense anti-Palamite views
(Mount Athos archives) [also for period 1354 ff.]	Various Athonite documents (esp. imperial donations)	Important details on social and economic conditions regarding ecclesiastical/monastic properties, land-holdings, etc.
Ramon Muntaner (1265-1336)	Chronicle of the Catalan expedition (early 14th c.) (in Spanish)	A.D. 1303/1304-1311 Important details, complements the account of Pachymēres
Francisco de Moncada (1580-1635)	*« The expedition of Catalans and Aragonese, against Turks and Greeks (= Byzantines) »* (in Spanish)	A.D. 1303/1304-1314 Very important details, despite the fact that it was written much later (A.D. 1618 !)
(Anonymous, 15th c.)	Bulgarian chronicle (in Bulgarian)	A.D. 1296-1413 Important details on Balkan affairs
Ibn Battutah (d. 1368/1369 or 1377)	*« Travels »* (in Arabic)	A.D. 1325-1354 Important details on Asia Minor and Constantinople (during author's 1332/1333 visit there)

al-Makrizi (d. 1442)	History of Egypt (under Ayyubids and Mamluks) (in Arabic)	A.D. 1181-1436 Important information on Byzantium's relations with Mamluk Egypt (for period 1261-1325)
Ahmedi (d. 1412/1413)	*« Book of Alexander »* (*« Iskender-name »*) (in Turkish)	Important information on early Byzantine-Ottoman confrontation
Enveri (15th c.)	*« Book of epic deeds »* (*« Dustür-name »*) (in Turkish) (on other Ottoman sources see below)	Important details ; 18th book crucial on Byzantium's relations with the Aydin Turkoman Emirate of W. Anatolia (1st part of 14th c.)
1354 ff. (Michael ?) Doūkas (c. 1400 - c. 1470)	*« History »* (Chronicle)	Creation - A.D. 1462 (sections 1204-1391 and, especially 1391-1462 particularly useful for gradual Ottoman expansion) Major source for Fall of Constantinople (1453) : with Sphrantzēs, Kritōboulos and Chalkokondȳles

George Sphrantzēs (c. 1401 - c. 1478)	a) « *Minor Chronicle* » (narrative diary, A.D. 1413-1477, in vernacular Greek) b) « *Major Chronicle* » (detailed history of period A.D. 1258-1478 ; in formal Byzantine Greek)	Most important details on all major issues of Palaiologan history — account of Fall of Constan- tinople (1453) ; his narrative based also on his official diplomatic capacity, since he was eyewitness of many important events
Michael Kritōboulos (c. 1400 - c. 1468)	« *Histories* » (in archaic Greek ; dedicated to the « Conqueror » sultan Mehmed II !)	A.D. 1451-1467 Important details on Fall of Constantinople (1453), of Morea Despotate (1460/1461) and of Trebizond and Pontos (1461)
Laonikos Chalkokondȳles (c. 1423/1430 - c. 1490)	« *Demonstrations of Histories* » (a world history having as its main theme the rise and expansion of the Ottoman Empire)	A.D. 1298-1463/1464 Crucial information on Ottomans and Balkan peoples Archaising Greek style (like Kritōboulos) in imitation of Herodotus and Thucydides
Anonymous (collective)	Byzantine short chronicles (wide collection)	Particularly important on dating Tur- kish conquests of various Byzantine cities and territories (A.D. 1300-1461)

John Kananōs (15th c.)	« *Narration of the siege* *of Constantinople* » (1422 ; in vernacular Greek)	Important details
John Anagnōstes (15th c.)	« *Narration of the last fall* *of Thessalonica* » (1430 ; in archaic Greek)	Important eyewitness account
Manuel II Palaiologos (emperor : 1391-1425)	Correspondence, orations, funeral speeches and treatises (e.g. against Islam)	Very important theological views ; important details on his contemporary events ; prosopographical data
Markos Eugenikōs (1391/1392-1445)	Theological treatises (anti-unionist), like this brother John Eugenikos : 1380 - *post* 1453	Important on contemporary theological issues
Sȳlvestros Syrōpoulos (c. 1390 - d. *post* 1453)	« *Memoirs of the Florence Council* »	Main source for unionist Ferrara-Florence Council of A.D. 1438-1439
George Gemistōs - « Pletho » (1360-1452)	« *Narrative of Laws* », various other treatises and orations (addressed to the Morea despots and to Constantinople's emperors)	The par-excellence Neoplatonist Byzantine philosopher ; very important information with proposed social-economic reforms !

Bessarion (c. 1400/1403-1472)	Pro-unionist treatises, laudatory orations (e.g. on the city of Nicaea)	The main pro-unionist Greek scholar of the 15th c., adopted Roman Catholicism and became a Latin cardinal (1439-1472)
George Scholārios-Gennādios II (patriarch : 1454-1456, 1463 and 1464-1465)	Various theological treatises against Union, Islam and Judaism (the first ecumenical patriarch after the Fall of 1453 ; initially a unionist)	Important information on contemporary issues (unionists, antiunionists, etc.)
Isidore Glabās (metropolitan of Thessalonica : 1384-1386 ; 1386-1396)	Orations, epistles and sermons	Particularly vital information on the Ottoman levying of children among Christian populations
John Chortasmēnos (1370-1436/1437)	Panegyric oration (of sultan Bayazid I's defeat at Ankyra by the Mongols in 1402)	Important information on the Byzantine Empire's lamentable condition in the early 15th c.
Paraspōndylos Zotikōs or George Argyrōpoulos (15th c.)	« *Poem on the battle [= Crusade] of Varna* » (A.D. 1444 ; in vernacular Greek)	Important complementary material on the main sources of the period (see above : Doukas to Chalkokondȳles)
(Anonymous, 15th c.)	« *Chronicle of the Tocco* » (dynasty) (in vernacular Greek)	Important details on the Italian dynasty of Kephallenia and Epeiros, A.D. c. 1375-1422

(Anonymous, 16th c.)	« *Chronicle of the Turkish sultans* » (in vernacular Greek ; based on Italian original)	Very important information on early Ottoman sultans (Osman I to Bayazid II : period A.D. 1288/1289-1512). Details on Turkish conquests of Greek and Balkan lands
Niccolo Barbaro (c. 1400 - d. *post* 1453)	« *Journal of the attack on Constantinople* » (1453 ; in Italian)	Detailed and accurate account ; complements main Byzantine sources
Leonardo of Chios (c. 1395/1396-1459)	« *Constantinopolitan history* » (in antique Italian dialect)	On the fall of Constantinople in 1453
Theodore Spandoūnes or Spandugnino-Kantakouzenos (c. 1460 - c. 1540)	« *On the house of the Ottomans* » (in antique Italian dialect)	Interesting pieces of information, though often untrustworthy Important on late Byzantine genealogy and prosopography
Giacomo Badoer (15th c., d. *post* 1440)	« *Book of accounts* » (in Italian)	Important details on this merchant's commercial dealings in Constantinople in A.D. 1436-1440
Ryu Gonzalez de Clavijo (14th - early 15th c.)	« *Narration of the embassy to Timur's (= Tamerlane's) court* » (A.D. 1403-1406 ; in Spanish)	Important details on Byzantium's economic relations with Venice and Genoa ; on late Byzantine Constantinople and Trebizond

Pero (Petro) Tafur (c. 1410 - c. 1484)	*« Travels and adventures »* (for period A.D. 1435-1439 ; in Spanish)	Important details on several contemporary events (visited Constantinople in 1437 and Trebizond in 1438)
Johann Schiltberger (1380-1440)	*« Books of travels »* (in German ; considered among first German geographical works)	Important on his contemporary events (arrested by Timur at Ankyra in 1402, he escaped and visited Constantinople [1427] on his way back to his native Bavaria)
(Venetian Senate's archives)	Deliberations (relations with Byzantium)	A.D. 1329-1463 Important details especially on commercial contacts and agreements
Constantine the Philosopher (15th c.)	Life of Stefan Lazarevitch (A.D. 1431/1432 ; in Serbian)	Centered on the Serbian kral's rule (1389-1427), it provides important information on Turkish inva- sion of the Balkans
Nestor Iskander (15th c.)	*« Account of Constantinople »* (= Fall of Constantinople in 1453 ; in old Russian)	Important details from the perspective of an Islamised Russian (« Iskander » from « Alexander »)

Konstantin Mihailovitch of Ostrovitcha (1435 - *post* 1484)	*« Memories of a Janissary »* (originally in Serbian, it survived in later Czech and Polish translations as *« Turkish Chronicle »*)	Very important on 1453 fall of Constantinople ; also crucial details on period 1389-1462 (Ottoman conquests in Anatolia and Balkans)
(Collective)	Armenian poems/laments on the 1453 Fall of Constantinople	Important for showing the impact of the event on Asiatic Christendom
al-Kalkashandi (d. 1418)	Chronicle (in Arabic) from Prophet Muhammad until early 15th c.	Particularly important on Byzantine- Mamluk relations, from Michael VIII (1261) until Manuel II (early 15th c.)
al-Taghribirdi (d. 1469/1470)	History of the rulers of Egypt (in Arabic) from Muhammad until 1467	Major source for Byzantine-Mamluk relations, A.D. 1261-1453
Ashik-Pasha-Zade (c. 1400 - c. 1486)	*« Chronicle of the house of Osman »* (in Turkish ; incorporates also the chronicle for the period late 13th c. - A.D. 1402 by Yahshi Fakih, d. *post* 1413) (both in Turkish)	Fundamental on early Ottoman conquests (until A.D. 1484/1485) and Byzantine-Turkish relations (details on fall of Constantinople, 1453, and Trebizond, 1461)
(Anonymous Giese)	Turkish chronicles (in Turkish)	Very important for the period late 13th - late 15th c. (until A.D. 1494)

Tursun begh (d. c. 1499/1500)	*« History of the Conqueror »* (in Turkish literary style)	Important eyewitness account of 1453 Fall of Constantinople ; also other pieces of information on Ottoman conquest
Urudj (d. c. 1500)	*« Ottoman history »* (in Turkish)	Very useful for early Ottoman conquests ; special important section on battle of Kossovo, 1389
Ruhi (d. *post* 1511)	*« History of the House of Osman »* (in Turkish)	Important on Ottoman conquest of Byzantine territories in Balkans (Adrianople, etc.) ; contains some interesting Turkish traditions on the foundation of Constantinople and Haghia Sophia
Neshri (d. between 1512-1520)	*« Book of cosmorama »* (based on Ashik-Pasha-Zade and Yahshi Fakih) (in Turkish)	From Oghuz khan until A.D. 1482/1484 Major source on Ottoman conquest of Byzantium's Balkan possessions ; details on 1453 fall of Constantinople

Kemal-Pasha-Zade (d. 1534/1536)	*« History of the house of Osman »* (in Turkish)	From Osman I (1288/1289) to 1526 (more detailed from 1481) Important details on Mehmed II's conquests of late Byzantine vestiges after 1453
Seadeddin (d. 1599)	*« Crown of histories »* (in Turkish) (covers period late 13th c. - A.D. 1520)	Important complementary source (to Byzantine chroniclers) on the conquest of Constantinople (1453) and Pontos/Trebizond (1460/1461)
(Anonymous, 15th or 16th c.)	Murad (II's) chronicles (in Turkish)	Important on early Ottoman history (until 1484) ; details on Crusade of Varna (1444), Ottoman invasion of Albania, conquests in Anatolia, Thrace and Constantinople (referred to the Ottoman text as *« Kostantiniya »*, not *« Istanbul »* !

Chronology

284 : Ascension of Diocletian on throne of Rome.

292 : Diocletian transfers his seat to Nicomedia.

303-311 : Last Christian « Great Persecution ».

306 : Constantine I proclaimed emperor in Britain.

311-313 : Edicts of Serdica and Milan : Christianity adopted.

312 : Constantine I defeats Maxentius at Milvian Bridge on the river Tiber (Rome).

324 : Constantine I the Great sole emperor of East and West following his victory over Licinius ; foundation of Constantinople - « New Rome » ; official commencement of Byzantine Empire.

325 : First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea : condemnation of Arian heresy and establishment of Orthodoxy.

330 : Official inauguration of Constantinople as new capital of the Empire (11 May).

337 : Constantine I baptised on his death-bed.

363 : Julian the Apostate perishes on the Persian front (probably assassinated by Christians).

374/375 : Huns plunge into Eastern Europe.

376 : Visigoths settle in Lower Moesia.

378 : Battle of Adrianople and victory of Visigoths over Eastern Empire (emperor Valens perishes).

381 : Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople : eradication of Arianism.

382 : Goths established as *foederati* in imperial territory.

390 : Theodosius I orders the slaughtering of 7.000 Goths in the Hippodrome of Thessalonica.

392 : Theodosius I orders closure of Olympic Games ; pagan worship banned.

395 : Theodosius I the Great divides Empire between his sons Honorius (West) and Arcadius (East).

396-397 : Visigoth king Alaric plunders Greece.

399-400 : Visigoth ascendancy in Byzantine affairs contained.

406-407 : Germanic peoples invade the Western Roman Empire.

407 : Death of John Chrysostom in Anatolian exile.

410 : Sack of Rome by Alaric's Visigoths.

413 : Construction of « Theodosian Wall » of Constantinople.

425 : Foundation of Constantinople's University (« *Pandidaktērion* »).

428 : Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople (to 431).

429 : Vandals found their kingdom in N. Africa (to 534).

431 : Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus : condemnation of Nestorianism.

438 : Promulgation of *Codex Theodosianus*.

439 : Vandals occupy Carthage and establish firmly Vandal Kingdom (till 533/534).

441-448 : Invasions of Huns in Byzantium's northern provinces.

449 : Byzantine embassy at Attila's court.

451 : Hunnish king Attila repulsed by a massive western coalition of Romans and Germans at battle of Catalaunian Plains, at Chalons ; Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalkedon : condemnation of Monophysitism.

455 : Vandals under king Genseric/Gaiseric sack Rome.

466 : Isaurian chieftain Tarasicodissa marries princess Ariadne (daughter of emperor Leo I) and adopts the name of Zeno (= the future emperor) ; Caucasian Laz king Gubazes warmly received in Constantinople.

468 : Failure of massive Byzantine naval operation against Vandals in Northern Africa.

476 : Fall of the Western Roman Empire to Erul king Odoacer/Odovacer and other Germanic tribes.

481-511 : Reign of the Frankish Merovingian King, Clovis I.

482 : The *Henotikōn* of Byzantine emperor Zeno the Isaurian attempts to bridge differences between Orthodoxy and Monophysitism.

484-519 : First ecclesiastical « Schism » (i.e. rift) between Orthodoxy and Catholicism (Constantinople-Rome).

491-518 : Reign of thrifty Anastasios I : construction of the « Long » or « Anastasian Walls » of Constantinople.

493 : Ostrogoth king Theoderic enters Ravenna ; Byzantium recognises him as ruler of Italy (493-526).

496 : Clovis I of the Franks adopts Roman Catholicism.

507 : Visigoths found their kingdom in Spain (to 711).

514-515 : Dangerous revolt led by Thracian general Vitalian checked by emperor Anastasius I.

518-527 : Emperor Justin I's contacts with Nubia and Ethiopia, mentioned in the Ethiopian « *Kebra Negast* ».

519 : First ecclesiastical Schism between East and West lifted.

527 : Justin I succeeded by nephew Justinian I the Great (to 565) ; initial hostilities with Persians (to 532).

529 : Justinian I closes down Philosophical School of Athens.

529-539 (556) : Promulgation of Justinianic Law.

531 : Sassanid Khosroes I the Great, king of Persia (to 579).

532 : Justinian I almost overthrown by the « Nika Riots » in Constantinople ; an « everlasting » peace treaty signed with Persia, whereby Byzantium retains Lazica, while Sassanids take Iberia (Georgia).

532-537 : Building of Haghia Sophia of Constantinople (Church of Holy Wisdom).

533-534 : Conquest of Vandal kingdom (Carthage) by Byzantium. Beginnings of Justinianic « *reconquista* » of the West.

535-554 : Conquest of Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy by Byzantium ; promulgation of the « *Pragmatica Sanctio* » (Aug. 554).

540 : Byzantines sack Ravenna and arrest Ostrogothic king Vitiges. Isis temple of Philae (Nubia) closed by Justinian I.

540-557 (561/562) : Byzantium's inconclusive Persian wars on the eastern front.

542-543 : Dreadful bubonic plague carries off one third of Constantinople's population.

548 : Death of empress Theodora.

552-555 : Conquest of Visigoth kingdom of Spain by Byzantium (till 624).

553 : Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople : further condemnation of Nestorians and Monophysites.

558-559 : Kotrigur Huns nearly capture Constantinople ; first Avar embassy to Constantinople.

568 : Beginning of Lombard invasions in Italy.

568-576 : First contacts of Byzantium with central Asian Oghuz Turks aiming at Persia's silk monopoly.

572-591 : Persian wars of Justinian I's successors concluded successfully by emperor Maurice.

578 : Ravenna besieged by Lombards.

579-600 : Invasions of Avars and Slavs in Byzantium's Balkan provinces.

584 : Foundation of « Exarchate » of Ravenna (Italy) (to 751) ; Byzantines lose Cordoba to Visigoths.

586 (or 597 ?) : Avar-Slav siege of Thessalonica (« *Miracles of Saint Demetrios* »).

587-589 : Early Slavonic incursions in the Peloponnese.

591 : Foundation of « Exarchate » of Carthage (N. Africa) (to Muslim conquest of 697/698) ; Maurice helps Chosroes II prevail in Persian civil war (to 628).

602 : Reign of terror of tyrant Phokas : the end of early Byzantine aristocracy (to 610).

605 : New Persian inroads in Anatolia and Slav invasion in the Balkans.

610 : Phokas overthrown by Herakleios (I), son of namesake exarch of Carthage.

614 : Sassanid Persians conquer Jerusalem and abduct the True Cross ; Avars sack Dalmatia ; early settlements of Serbs and Croats in the Balkans.

615 : Persian troops reach Asiatic coast opposite Constantinople.

617-619 : Avaro-Slavs besiege Thessalonica.

619 : Persians invade Egypt.

622-628 : Persian wars of Herakleios I ; Sassanid might crushed.

622 (= 1 after Hegira) : Islam Prophet Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina. — Traditional commencing date for the institution of the « Themes » in Asia Minor (to be later expanded in Byzantium's European possessions).

624 : Visigoths regain their Spanish possessions from Byzantium.

626 : Siege of Constantinople by Avaro-Slavs.

627-628 : Herakleios crushes Sassanids at Neneveh. Persian ruler Chosroes II overthrown.

628-636 : Herakleios I's abortive wars against Muslims in the Middle East ; events described also by the (later) Swahili « *Epic of Herakleios* ».

630 : The True Cross reinstated in Jerusalem by Herakleios I.

632 : Death of Prophet Muhammad : the Patriarchal Caliphate (632-661).

633-651/652 : First spectacular Arab conquests in the Near and Middle East.

636 : Byzantine defeat by Arabs at Yarmuk river ; Syria captured by Muslims.

637-651/652 : Arab subjugation of Sassanid Persia.

638 : The « *Ekthesis* » of Herakleios tries to settle dogmatic disputes, though in essence he professes the new heresy of Monothelitism. — Muslims capture Jerusalem after agreement with patriarch Sophronios.

639-642 : Arab conquest of Byzantine Egypt.

647-649 : Arab invasions of Asia Minor and Cyprus.

653-654 : Arabs sack Rhodes (abduction of Colossus) and other Aegean islands.

655 : Byzantine naval defeat of Constans II « Pogonatos » by Muslims at Phoenix, off Anatolia's southwestern littoral (the « Battle of the masts » in Arabic sources).

661 : Caliphate of the Umayyad of Damascus established by Muawiyya I (to 750).

663 : Constans II campaigns against Lombards in Italy.

667 : Foundation of the Anatolian « Armeniakon » theme.

668 : Constans II murdered in his bath at Syracusae.

669 : Foundation of the « Anatolikon » theme.

670-672 : Muslim vice around Constantinople tightens with capture of Kyzikos and Smyrna.

673/674-677/678 : First Arab siege of Constantinople ; Muslim fleet destroyed by « Greek Fire ».

675-677 : New abortive Avar-Slav siege of Thessalonica.

679-680 : Foundation of the First Bulgarian Empire under khan Asparuch (to 1018), acknowledged by emperor Constantine IV.

680-681 : Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople stamps out Monothelitism.

686-689 : Justinian II « Rhenotmetos » (« Slit-nosed ») campaigns victoriously against Slavs of Thessaly and Macedonia.

c. 688 : A « condominium » between Byzantines and Muslims set up in Cyprus.

691-692 : The Trullan (or « Fifth-Sixth ») Council at Constantinople condemns remnants of paganism.

693-695 : Possible date of promulgation of « *Farmer's Law* », with important financial reforms.

695 : Violent overthrow of Justinian II, who seeks refuge in Cherson.

697/698 : Muslims capture Carthage and abolish North African Exarchate.

705 : Justinian II reinstated with Bulgarian help.

710/720 : Foundation of the naval Karabisian/Kibyrraeot theme in southwestern Anatolia.

711 : Muslim Berbers cross Gibraltar over to Europe and conquer Visigothic Spain ; Armenian emperor of Byzantium, Philippikos-Bardanes, denounces Trullan Council and destroys its pictorial representation (unofficial beginnings of Iconoclasm).

713-717 : Period of revolutions and involvements of « Themes » in appointing rival candidates for the throne ; finally Leo (III) the Isaurian prevails with support of the « Anatolikon » theme : foundation of Isaurian or Syriac dynasty ; Arabs threatening outside Byzantine capital.

717-718 : Second Arab siege of Constantinople, also repulsed by « Greek Fire », a plague and effective Bulgarian aid.

723 : Iconoclast edict of Umayyad caliph Yazid II.

726 : Promulgation of the Isaurian « *Ecloga of Laws* » ; volcanic eruption of the Aegean island of Thera/Santorine. — First phase of Iconoclasm begins ; it will be temporarily checked at Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (787).

727 : Arab siege of Nicaea.

730 : Further Iconoclastic decrees by Leo III.

732 : Frankish mayor of the palace, Charles Martel, defeats western Muslim invasion of Europe at Poitiers.

740 : Byzantine victory over Arabs at Anatolian Akroenōn / Afyun Karahisar ; the Muslim legend of Sayyid Battal Ghazi.

742-743 : Revolt of Artabasdos against Constantine V fails.

746-748 : Horrible pestilence in the Byzantine Empire in combination with dramatic deterioration of climatic conditions.

750 : Establishment of Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad.

751 : Lombards capture Ravenna and overthrow Exarchate of Italy.

754 : Pro-Iconoclast Council at Hiēreia palace on Bosphoran Asiatic side proclaims temporary victory of Iconoclasts ; Frankish mayor of the palace, Pepin the Short, acknowledged king by the pope Stephen II at Ponthion (France).

755/756 : Establishment of medieval Papal State.

756/775 : Bulgarian wars (9 distinct campaigns !) of emperor Constantine V, the « first Bulgar slayer ».

763 : Bulgars crushed by Constantine V at Anchialos.

772 : New victory of Constantine V over Bulgars at Lithosōria.

774 : Charlemagne conquers Lombard kingdom of Italy.

781-783 : After new Muslim invasions in western Anatolia, Irene the Athenian signs humiliating treaty with the Abbasid caliph.

783 : Irene sends expedition in southern Helladic areas and the Morea against Slavs.

786-809 : Reign of celebrated Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid, sovereign of a seemingly thriving Oriental Caliphate.

787 : Iconophile Council of Nicaea temporarily restores icon veneration.

790 : Irene the Athenian assumes real power brushing aside her son Constantine VI as puppet co-emperor.

792 : Bulgarian victory over Byzantines at Markēllai fortress on the borderline.

796 : Charlemagne destroys Avar state of central Europe.

797 : Irene the Athenian blinds her own son Constantine VI and remains sole « *basilissa* » (in fact « *basileus* », as presented on coins !).

800 : On Christmas day Frankish king Charlemagne crowned by pope Leo III in Rome as « emperor of the Romans » (of the West). Overtures for his marriage with Eastern empress, Irene the Athenian.

802 : Irene the Athenian toppled by Nikephoros I and exiled in Lesbos.

805/807 : Arab-Slavonic attack on Patras (north-western Morea) repulsed (the legend of St. Andrew's miraculous intervention).

806-807 : Arab raids by Harun al-Rashid in Asia Minor.

809 : New Bulgarian inroads — sack of Serdica (Sofia).

811 : Devastating defeat of emperor Nikephoros I by the Bulgars ; his skull is made a goblet for the triumphant Bulgarian khan, Krum.

812 : Treaty between Byzantium and Charlemagne, acknowledged only as king by the Eastern Empire.

813 : Bulgars lay siege on Constantinople ; Michael I Rhangabe toppled by Leo V the Armenian (813-820).

814 : Byzantine-Bulgarian peace treaty of « thirty years ».

815 : Second (milder) phase of Iconoclasm commences with Council of Constantinople ; this phase will be contained in 843.

820 : Assassination of Leo V during Christmas in Haghia Sophia and replacement with Michael II the « Stammerer », founder of Amorian (Phrygian) dynasty (to 867).

821-826 : Further development of the Thematic system in Anatolia.

821-823 : Dangerous social uprising led by Thomas the Slav crushed by emperor Michael II with Bulgarian help.

c. 824 : Conquest of Crete by the Muslims ; foundation of Cretan Emirate (to 961).

826 : Death of Theodore of Studion, champion of Iconoclasm and author of important theological treatises and epistles.

827/828 : Muslims land in Sicily and commence its conquest (fall of Palermo : 831).

837 : Emperor Theophilos sacks Sozopetra (the caliph's native town) and Melitene/Malatya.

838 : Muslims take revenge and sack Amorium in Asia Minor, the birthplace of the Byzantine reigning Amorian dynasty !

840 : Famous Iconoclast scholar Leo the Philosopher (or Mathematician) becomes archbishop of Thessalonica (to 843) ; Theophilos' epistle to German king Lothair regarding a western « crusade » against Muslims, considered as a precursor of the Crusades.

840-850 : Rus (« Rhos ») from Scandinavia found their principalities of Kiev and Novgorod.

843 : Charlemagne's grandsons divide possession of the « Holy Roman Empire » (of the Franks) at Verdun. — Iconoclasm definitively defeated in Council of Constantinople by empress Theodora.

845/846 : Traditional date of execution of the « 42 Martyrs » of Amorium by Muslims.

855-856 : Byzantine mission headed by Photios and Cyril (-Constantine) holds theological disputations and arranges exchanges of prisoners at Abbasid caliph's court at Samarra.

856-866 : Removal of empress Theodora and her protégé Theoktistos : power of caesar Bardas, emperor Michael III's uncle.

858 : Photios, supported by Bardas, becomes patriarch of Constantinople.

859 : Michael III the « Drunkard » crosses the Euphrates and storms the Muslims.

860 : First Russian attack on Constantinople ; Byzantine naval expedition for reconquest of Sicily fails.

860-861/863-867 : Christianising missions of Cyril and Methodius to the Khazars of Crimea and Moravians (Slavonic alphabet).

863 : Byzantine triumph under general Petronas over Arabs at Lalakāon river, northern Asia Minor. Byzantine ruler Michael III rhapsodised as the « Armoūres » of Byzantine epic poetry (H. Grégoire). — Foundation of the Constantinopolitan Universty of Magnaura by caesar Bardas ; Leo the Philosopher its director.

864 : Bulgars converted to Orthodox Christianity.

866 : Bardas murdered by Basil (I) the Macedonian.

867 (-886) : Second ecclesiastical « Schism » (« Photian Schism ») with the West.

867 : Murder of Michael III by Basil (I) the Macedonian ; foundation of the Macedonian dynasty (to 1056).

867/870 : Basil I reconciled with the Papacy ; Photios deposed and exiled through a Constantinopolitan Council.

c. 870 : Promulgation of the « *Procheiron* » (« *Handy Law* »), on private and penal law.

871 : Western Emperor Louis II captures Bari from Arabs.

871/872 : Heretical Paulicians (dualists), who had sided with the Muslims, are crushed by Basil I, who raises their capital, Tephrikē, to the ground.

871/873 : Naval activities of Byzantine admiral Niketas Ooryphas against Muslims.

876 : Byzantines capture Bari.

877 : Photios restituted on patriarchal throne (to 886).

878 : Arab conquest of Syracusae.

879 : Promulgation of the « *Epanagogē* » (on basic guidelines set up by previous Isaurian dynasty in 726).

879/880 : New Constantinopolitan council officially reinstated Photios ; Muslims occupy Syracusae in Sicily ; admiral Nacar sent against them.

885 (or 891) : Basil I founds the Theme of Langobardia in Italy ; Nikephoros Phokas the Elder campaigns in southern Italy.

886 : Leo VI the Wise, scholar emperor, succeeds Basil I (to 912) ; he will be mostly known as promulgator of a famous legal collection, the « *Basilics* » (*Basilikā*, c. 888) (revision of old Justinianic law). — Photios deposed and exiled again.

894 : Protracted Byzantine-Bulgarian wars commence against tsar Symeon (to 927, with short pauses) ; Hungarian inroads in Balkans repulsed by Patzinaks.

895/896 : Byzantine defeat by Bulgars at Bulgarōphygon / Eski Baba, near Adrianople.

902 : Fall of Taormina, last Sicilian outpost of Byzantium, to the Muslims.

904 : Thessalonica plundered by Muslims under renegade Leo of Tripoli. — Treaty between Byzantium and Symeon of Bulgaria concluded by Leo Choirosphāktes.

907 : Russians again in front of Constantinopolitan walls. Temporary peace agreement.

911 : First official Byzantine-Russian commercial treaty ; Byzantine failure to reconquer Crete.

912/913 : Tsar Symeon in front of Constantinople ; Patriarch (and regent of young Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos) Nicholas I Mystikos honours the Bulgarian ruler with an imperial crown, temporarily holding him in check.

914 : Patriarch Mystikos exiled and Symeon's coronation is annuled : new Bulgarian inroads.

917-918 : Symeon defeats Byzantine forces at Achelous river, marching as far south as the Morea.

920-944 : Romanos I Lekapenos' reign as co-emperor of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913/945-959). — Symeon proclaims himself ruler of « Rhomaioi and Bulgars ».

922 : Romanos I issues his novella « *On preference* » (*Peri protimēseos*) in support of the weaker classes and at the expense of the powerful (« *dynatoi* »).

923 : Byzantine eastern wars against Muslims are taken up by the legendary general John Kourkoūas (to 944).

924 : Byzantium cedes to Symeon the title of « emperor » of Bulgarian lands.

927 : While preparing to march against Constantinople, tsar Symeon dies ; Byzantine-Bulgarian peace treaty.

927/928 and 934 : New legal measures of Romanos I in favour of small-holders and aiming at containing the powers of « *dynatoi* » (powerful).

931-940 : Byzantine-Muslim wars in Mesopotamia and Armenia.

934 : John Kourkoūas captures Melitene/Malatya from the Arabs.

933-944 : Composition of the treatise « *On the Themes* » by scholar-monarch Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.

941 : New Russian attack on Asiatic coast of Bosphorus destroyed by « Greek Fire ».

943 : John Kourkoūas captures Martyropolis from the Arabs.

944 : New commercial pact between Byzantium-Russians. — Kourkoūas captures Edessa/Urfa from Muslims and regains the sacred « Mandēlion » of Christ (later associated with the celebrated « Shroud of Turin »), solemnly brought to Constantinople.

945 : Romanos I toppled ; Constantine VII sole ruler (to 959).

946 : Exchange of embassies between Byzantium and Fatimids of N. Africa (also in 953, 957/958, 967, 975 and 987/988).

948 : Liutprand of Cremona visits Constantine VII's court at Constantinople.

949 : New Byzantine naval expedition to reconquer Crete from Muslims fails.

949-953 : Further Byzantine-Muslim wars with inconclusive results.

957 : Russian princess Olga adopts Orthodoxy in Constantinople.

960-961 : General Nikephoros (II) Phokas recaptures Crete from Arabs and abolishes Muslim Emirate there.

962 : German king Otto I crowned emperor of the « Holy Roman Empire » (of the Germanic nation) ; Nikephoros Phokas captures Aleppo (Halep) from Muslims.

963 : Widow-empress Theophano marries Nikephoros II Phokas, who becomes emperor. — Foundation of the « Megiste Lavra » monastery on Mount Athos with the spoils of Cretan campaign.

963-1025 : The era of the Byzantine « golden epic » — conquests by Nikephoros II Phokas, John I Tzimiskes and Basil II the « Bulgarslayer ».

964 : Abortive Byzantine operations to reconquer Sicily.

965 : Nikephoros II, the « white death of the Saracens », captures Tarsus and Mopsuestia in Cilicia from Muslims ; he also recaptures Cyprus, thus ending Byzantine-Muslim « condominium » there (since 688).

967 : Russian ruler Sviatoslav invades Bulgaria.

968 : Second embassy of Cremona's bishop, Liutprand, to the Byzantine court as Otto I's legate (first one in 948).

969 : Nikephoros II recaptures Antioch/Antakya from Muslims ; sometime later he is murdered by his wife and conspirators in the imperial palace ; arch-conspirator John I Tzimiskes succeeds him. — Fatimid (Shiite) rule in Egypt (until 1171).

970 : Russian ruler Sviatoslav besieges Adrianople.

971 : John I Tzimiskes captures Great Preslav in Bulgaria and besieges Russians at Dorystolon ; fleeing Sviatoslav slain by Patzinaks.

972 : Byzantine princess Theophano is married to German emperor Otto II and introduces Byzantine civilisation among the Germans.

972-975 : Further Byzantine conquests at the expense of Arabs : Heliopolis/Baalbek, Damascus and Caesarea (Palestine).

976 : Death of John I Tzimiskes and succession of young Basil (II) and Constantine (VIII) under guardianship of eunuch Basil.

976-979 : Revolt against Basil II led by general Bardas Skleros.

986 : Early defeats of Basil II by Bulgars.

987-989 : New revolts led by Bardas Skleros and then Bardas Phokas, successfully contained by Basil II with Russian help (the Varangian guards).

988-989 : Conversion of Russians to Orthodoxy ; Byzantine princess Anna (sister of Basil II) marries Russian ruler Vladimir.

991 : Beginnings of great Bulgarian wars of Basil II against tsar Samuel's western Bulgarian state (to 1014/1018).

992 : First commercial pact of Byzantium with Venice.

995 : Basil II relieves besieged Aleppo (by Fatimids).

996 : Novella by Basil II in favour of small-holders.

996-997 : Byzantine general Nikephoros Ouranōs defeats at Spercheios river valley Samuel's troops, returning from Moreote campaigns. Turning point for following Bulgarian defeats.

1000 : Byzantine generals Theodorokānos and Nikephoros Xiphias seize Great and Little Preslav as well as Pliskova from Samuel of Bulgaria. — On the eastern front Basil II receives subjugation of a significant portion of Iberia (Georgia).

1001 : A ten-year truce signed with Fatimids.

1001-1018 : Final counter-offensive of Basil II against Bulgars, with a series of campaigns and conquests.

1002 : Basil II issues the tax-measure of « *allelēngyon* » to protect the smallholders from the peculations of the powerful (« *dynatoi* »).

1009 : Fatimid caliph al-Hakim orders destruction of Jerusalem Church of Holy Sepulchre.

1009 and 1017/1018 : Revolts of Mel(es) in southern Italy.

1012-1027 : Rise of Norman power in southern Italy.

1014 : Bulgar tsar Samuel defeated by Basil II « Bulgarslayer » at Kleidion, eastern Macedonia.

1018 : Capture of Ochrid and annexation of Bulgaria by Byzantium (till 1185/1186). — Triumphant Basil II offers thanks on Parthenon, Athens (Church of Virgin Mary the Athenian). — Abolition of Bulgarian Patriarchate and its replacement by the Ochrid autocephalous archbishopric. Bulgaria divided into Bulgarian and Paristrian (Paradounavon) Themes.

1021-1022 : Annexation of Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan by Byzantium.

1025 : Byzantine naval expedition to reconquer Sicily fails ; Basil II's death inaugurates a period of rapid decline for the Empire (to 1081).

1028 : Era of the porphyrogenneta Zoe and her successive husbands (to 1050) : abolition of the « *allelēngyon* » measure by her first husband, Romanos III Argyros, who wants to gain the support of the powerful classes.

1029-1030 : Campaign of Romanos III Argyros against Muslims in Syria fails ignominiously.

1032 : Byzantine general George Maniakes recaptures Edessa/Urfa from Muslims.

1034 : Zoe's second lover becomes emperor : Michael IV the Paphlagonian (to 1041).

1035-1040 : George Maniakes's wars against Muslims in Sicily and the East.

1036/1038 : Byzantine-Muslim treaty secures protection of Holy Land.

1039/1040 : Revolt of Argyros (son of Meles) in S. Italy.

1040-1041 : Insurrection of Peter Deljan and Bulgarians in the Balkans. Invaders reach Macedonia, central and western Greece.

1041-1042 : Zoe's third lover, Michael V the « Caulker », assumes power and closes her in a nunnery ; violent Constantinopolitan uprising topples him. Constantine IX Monomachos new emperor (and Zoe's fourth consort).

1042 : Naval expedition of George Maniakes against Muslims in Sicily interrupted by his unwarranted recall to Constantinople.

1042-1043 : Revolt of celebrated general George Maniakes is quelled in Macedonia by troops of Constantine IX.

1043 : New Russian attack on Constantinople forces Constantine IX to pay tribute.

1045 : Reorganisation of Constantinopolitan University with famous scholars of the age (Psellos, Maurōpous, Leichoūdes, Xiphilinos).

1045/1046 : Byzantium annexes Armenian kingdom of Ani.

1047 : Revolt of « procrastinating » general Leo Tornikios contained by Constantine IX, who saves his capital.

1047/1048 : Patzinaks cross frozen Danube and plunder the Empire's Balkan provinces ; they are bought off with tribute.

1048/1049 : First major Byzantine-Seljuk confrontation at Kapetron castle, Armenia.

1049-1053 : Patzinaks in the Balkans again raid imperial territories.

1050 : Death of Zoe Porphyrogenneta.

1053 : Constantine IX inaugurates the institution of the « providences » (« *prōnoiai* »), which will gradually lead to a « Byzantine feudalism ».

1054 : Clash between rigid Patriarch Michael I Keroulārios and pope Leo IX's emissary, cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida : third (and final) ecclesiastical Schism between Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

1055 : Seljuk ruler Toghrul begh enters Baghdad and becomes « sultan » by the Arab Abbasid caliph ; Seljuks inherit from Arabs the struggle against Byzantium. — Death of emperor Constantine IX, a ruler who contributed more than anyone to the decline of Byzantine armies, but promoted education.

1057 : Revolt of Isaakios I Komnenos, who seizes the throne.

1058 : Patriarch Keroulārios deposed and exiled.

1059 : Hugarian invasion in the Balkans in collusion with Patzinaks repulsed by Isaakios I.

1063-1065 : Seljuks conquer Armenia (fall of capital Ani).

1064 : Hungarians seize Belgrade.

1064/1065 : Turkophone Uzes (« *Oūzoi* ») plunder Balkans and Helladic areas.

1066 : Norman conquest of England.

1067-1071 : Seljuk invasion of Anatolia and counter-expeditions by heroical emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071), who recaptures several pillaged Anatolian and Syrian towns.

1067 : Seljuks capture and plunder Caesarea/Kayseri, in Cappadocia.

1071 : Normans besiege and capture Bari ; end of Byzantine rule in Italy. — Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes defeated by Seljuk Turks at Mantzikert, eastern Anatolia ; loss of a significant Anatolian portion to advancing Seljuks and Turkomans. Romanos freed by magnanimous sultan Alp Arslan (« Mighty Lion »).

1072 : Despicable betrayal and blinding of Romanos by his own people, while Constantinopolitan throne had passed on to Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078).

1073/1074 : Byzantine-papal negotiations (Michael VII - Gregory VII Hildebrand) for possibility of Christian crusade against Seljuks remain ineffective ; activities of rebellious Norman chieftain Roussel de Bailleul in Anatolia.

1074/1075 : Recapture of Trebizond (Seljuk since 1071/1072) by Theodore (I) Gabras of the Pontos, the sanctified Pontic hero of popular poetry.

1076 : Bubonic plague hits Byzantine lands.

1076/1077 : The « *De investitura* » feud between Papacy and Western Empire (German Holy Roman emperors) (until 1122).

1077 : Seljuk capture of Jerusalem causes First Crusade (in 1095/1096).

1077/1078 : Revolts of Dyrracheion « doux » Nikephoros Bryēnnios, whose bid to Byzantine crown is forestalled by Anatolian revolt of Nikephoros (III) Botaneiātes.

1078-1080/1081 : Revolts of Nikephoros Basilākios and Nikephoros Melissenōs.

1080/1081 : Foundation of the Seljuk sultanate of Rûm at Nicaea/Iznik.

1081 : Coup of Alexios (I) Komnenos topples Nikephoros III Botaneiātes and founds Komnenian dynasty (to 1185). Nikephoros Melissenōs is content with the title of « caesar » ; treaty of Alexios I with Süleyman I ibn Kutlumush, Seljuk sultan of Rûm at Nicaea.

1081-1085 : First Norman invasion in Ionian islands and western Greece led by Robert Guiscard.

1082 (1084) : First commercial pact and trading concesions of Byzantium to Venice. — The trial of the heretical views of John Italos and the burning at the stake of the Bogomil (= Balkan dualist) leader Basil (an alternative, probably more accurate, version dates this event between 1102/1104 and 1111).

1085 : Seljuks capture Antioch/Antakya.

1086-1087 : New Patzinak raids in the Balkans and Alexios I's defeat at Dristra.

1090-1091 : Combined siege of Constantinople by Patzinaks and the Seljuk emir of Smyrna, Tzachas (Chaka bey), repulsed by Alexios I Komnenos and his Cuman allies.

1092 : Alexios I attempts a reform of debased Byzantine coinage.

(1095) 1096-1099 : First Crusade ; Byzantines recapture Nicaea from Seljuks of Rûm and Seljuk defeat by Crusaders at Dorylaion / Eski Shehir, which opens path to Syria ; Crusaders capture Antioch (1098) and Jerusalem (1099).

1104 : Bohemond of Antioch conspires against Byzantium in the West.

1105-1106 : Assassination of Tzachas by Rûm sultan Kilidj Arslan I at the instigation of Alexios I Komnenos.

1107-1108 : Second Norman invasion of Greece led by Bohemond, who upon defeat is forced to become tributary of Alexios I (treaty of Devol), yet his undertakings to Byzantium regarding Antioch will never materialise until his death (1111), or by his nephew, Tancred (d. 1112).

c. 1110/1112 : Seljuks of Rûm establish their capital at Ikonion/Konya, which will be gradually transformed into a cultural and artistic centre.

1111 : Byzantium's initial commercial pact with Pisa.

1112/1116 : Alexios I Komnenos recaptures several Byzantine territories in Asia Minor from the Seljuks of Rûm.

1118 : Tormenting death of Alexios I and succession of John II Komnenos (to 1143), following neutralisation of coup (in which princess Anna Komnene, the famous historiographer, was involved).

1118/1120 : Operations of John II against Seljuks ; Byzantines capture Laodikeia and Sozopolis.

1122-1123 : Patzinaks definitively crushed by John II Komnenos and his Varangian allies at Beroe/Stara Zagora, Bulgaria.

1124/1126 : Renewal of trading privileges to Venice.

1130 : Roger II becomes Norman king of Sicily (to 1154).

1130-1135 : Expeditions led by John II Komnenos against Danishmendid Turks in north-eastern Anatolia.

1133-1143 : Operations of John II Komnenos in Cilician Armenia and Syria.

1137/1138 : John II captures Antioch/Antakya.

1142-1143 : John II campaigns again in Cilicia.

1143 : Accidental death of John II in hunting accident under clouded circumstances. — Succession of his youngest heir, Manuel I (to 1180), a Latinophile.

1144-1146 : Conquest of Edessa/Urfa by emir of Mosul, Zengi, and his son Nureddin, causes Second Crusade.

1146-1149 : Second Crusade.

1147-1148 : Third Norman invasion of Greece (sack of Corfu, Patras, Corinth, Thebes). — New Cuman invasion in the Balkans repulsed beyond the Danube. — New commercial pact with Venice.

1149 : Corfu returns to Byzantine control.

1153/1154 : Famous Arab geographer in Norman service, al-Idrisi, visits Greek lands.

1155/1158 : Manuel I Komnenos launches « *nova reconquista* » campaign in central and south Italy, but is eventually forced to withdraw his forces ; treaty with Norman king William I.

1159 : Manuel I enters Antioch.

1161/1162 : Rûm Seljuk sultan Kilidj Arslan II visits Constantinople ; temporary peace agreement with Manuel I.

1164 : Byzantine treaty with Hungary proves transient.

1165-1166 : Benjamin of Tudela visits Greek lands and Constantinople in quest of Jewish communities in Byzantine Empire.

1165-1173 : Byzantine-Hungarian wars.

1169 : Commercial pact and privileges to Genoa.

1170 : Further privileges conceded to Pisa.

1171 : Persecutions against Latins in the Byzantine capital. — Saladin becomes Ayyubid sultan of Egypt after abolishing the Fatimid caliphate.

1172 : Manuel I Komnenos defeats Serbs under Stefan I Nemanja.

1173 : Pact between Kilidj Arslan II of Rûm and the German emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, Byzantium's inveterate enemy.

1174-1177 : Seljuks of Rûm annex the Danishmendids.

·1176 : Manuel I Komnenos crushed by Seljuks of Rûm at Anatolian Myriokephalon.

1182 : Latin massacres in Constantinople orchestrated by exiled Andronikos (I) Komnenos, who returns and assumes power as co-emperor of minor Alexios II Komnenos.

1183-1185 : Reign of Andronikos I Komnenos and his social reforms against magnates and great landowners ; several military governors (esp. in Asia Minor) rebell against him.

1184/1185 : Isaakios Komnenos proclaims his independence in Cyprus, minting his own coins there. — Ineffective alliance between Byzantium and Saladin of Egypt.

1185 : Fourth Norman invasion of Greece (sack of Thessalonica) ; violent overthrow of emperor Andronikos I Komnenos who is butchered by

Constantinopolitan mob. — Byzantine general Alexios Branas defeats Normans at Macedonian Demetritza, near ancient Amphipolis.

1185/1186 : Revolt of Bulgars, Wallachians and Cumans ; foundation of the Second Bulgarian Empire (to 1393), also acknowledged by emperor Isaakios II Angelos (in 1187).

1187 : Saladin crushes Crusaders at Hattin and captures Jerusalem, thus causing Third Crusade. — Renewed Byzantine trading privileges to Venice (and 1189).

1189 : Renewed pact between Byzantium-Saladin ; Muslim mosque in Constantinople.

1189-1192 : Third Crusade ; capture of Cyprus by Crusaders (1191) and end of Byzantine domination there.

1189-1204 : Revolts and separatist movements in Asia Minor, the Balkans and mainland Greece.

1192 : Frankish Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus (to 1489).

1195 : Violent overthrow of Isaakios II Angelos by his brother Alexios III (to 1203).

1196 : « German tax » (« *alamanikōn* ») imposed by Alexios III Angelos to thwart aggressive plans of Henry VI of Germany.

1196/1197-1204/1205 : Civil war in Rûm Seljuk sultanate with Byzantine involvement. — Period of further autonomous and separatist seditions in Anatolia.

1198 : Innocent III becomes new Pope (to 1216). — Renewed Byzantine trading privileges to Venice.

1200/1201 : Palace revolution of John Komnenos the « Fat » almost topples Alexios III. — Leo Sgouros proclaims his independence in northeastern Morea.

1201/1202 : Attempt of Manuel Kammytzes to set up an independent territory in central and northern Greece eventually fails.

1201-1204 : Fourth Crusade (sack of Constantinople, April 1204).

1204 (before April) : Foundation of the Empire of Grand Komnenoi at Trebizond (to 1461).

1204 (April) : Foundation of Latin Empire of Romania (to 1261).

1204 : Semi-independent Gabalas dynasty of Dodecanese (Rhodes) (to 1250).

1204 (Oct.) : « Partition Treaty » divides Byzantine lands among Crusaders.

1204 : Latin domination in the Aegean (Archipelago) (to 1566).

1204/1205 : Foundation of Empire of Nicaea by Constantine XI and Theodore I Laskaris (to 1261).

1204/1205 : Frankish Principality of Achaia (northwestern Morea) (to 1262/1432).

1204/1205 : Foundation of the autonomous state (« Despotate ») of Epeiros (to 1349/1449/1479).

1204/1207-1224 : Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica.

1205 : Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan crushes Latins of Romania at Adrianople.

1205 : Latin duchy of Athens and Thebes (to 1456/1458).

1205-1206 : Abortive Seljuk siege of Trebizond.

1206 : Temudjin-Jenghis Khan unites Mongol tribes. — Henry of Flanders new Latin emperor of Romania.

1207 : Theodore I Laskaris crowned emperor at Nicaea. — Rûm Seljuks capture Attaleia/Antalya on the south Anatolian littoral, which becomes their first naval base.

1207 : The Latin kingdom of Thessalonica (to 1224).

1208 : Leo Sgouros, lord of north-eastern Peloponnese, perishes fighting the Franks at Akrocorinth.

1210/1211 : Venetian rule in Crete commences (to 1669) ; first reaction by the local archontic family of Hagiostephanites (1211-1212).

1211 : Nicaean emperor Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea defeats Seljuks of Rûm at Antioch-on-the-Maeander and avenges the defeats at Mantzikert (1071) and Myriokephalon (1176).

1214 : Rûm Seljuks capture Sinope, on the Black Sea coast, from the Grand Komnenoi. — Pact between Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea and Latin Empire of Romania.

1219 : Serbian archbishopric becomes independent.

1219-1223 : Jenghis Khan invades the Muslim world and Caucasian lands.

1220-1224 : Legendary arrival of Süleyman Shah (ancestor of the Ottomans) in eastern Anatolia on account of Mongol pressure.

1222 : Death of Theodore I Laskaris and succession of his son-in-law John III Doukas Batatzes (to 1254).

1222-1223 : Abortive Seljuk attack on Trebizond.

1224 : Theodore of Epeiros captures Thessalonica from Latins ; founds Byzantine Empire of Thessalonica (to 1246).

1225-1226 : Successes of John III Doukas Batatzes against Franks.

1230 : Theodore of Epeiros defeated by Bulgarians at Klokotnitsa/Semitje.

1230-1240 : Early Ottomans under Ertoghrul arrive in north-western Anatolia and receive lands by Rûm Seljuks.

1233 : John III Doukas Batatzes of Nicaea sends expedition against recalcitrant Leo Gabalas of Rhodes.

1234 : Treaty between Leo Gabalas and Venice.

1238-1241 : Mongol invasions of Georgia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia.

1242-1243 : Mongol invasion of Anatolia : defeat of Rûm Seljuks at Satala / Köse Dagh and acknowledgement of Mongol (Ilkhanid) suzerainty ; belated treaty between Nicaea and Rûm Seljuks.

1244 : Following negotiations, John III Doukas Batatzes of Nicaea marries German princess Constance-Anna of Hohenstaufen — pact with Frederic II of Germany.

1246 : John III Doukas Batatzes of Nicaea captures Thessalonica from the Epeirots.

1249 : Fortress of Mystras constructed by the Franks.

1256 : Foundation of first Anatolian emirate (*beylik*) at Karaman(ia).

1257-1259 : Byzantine involvement in Seljuk civil wars.

1258 : Mongol (Ilkhanid) conquest of Baghdad and overthrow of Abbasid Caliphate.

1259 : Michael VIII Palaiologos and Nicaean army crush united forces of Achaia Franks and Epeirots at Pelagonia, near Kastoria (western Macedonia).

1261 : Recapture of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaiologos and restoration of the Byzantine Empire : the Palaiologan dynasty (1261-1453). — Treaty of Nymphaion and commercial concessions to Genoa.

1262 : Liberated William of Villehardouin cedes to Michael VIII the Moreote fortresses of Monemvasia, Mane, Geraki and Mystras.

1262-1348 : Byzantine reconquests at the expense of Franks in Peloponnese (Morea).

1263-1264 : Byzantine-Frankish wars in Morea ; eventual victory of Franks with the aid of Turkoman mercenaries from Anatolia.

1266 : Charles I of Anjou becomes king of the « Two Sicilies », having defeated Manfred of Sicily at Benevento.

1272 : Byzantine treaty with Mongol Golden Horde.

1274 : Unionist Council at Lyons is not accepted in Byzantium, despite Michael VIII's acceptance of papal primacy (Gregory X).

1275 : Michael VIII defeats Latin fleet near Demetrias (eastern Thessaly) ; alliance with Mongol ruler of the Golden Horde, Nogay.

1281 : Important military-commercial treaty of Byzantium with Mamluks of Egypt. — Byzantine victory over Charles I of Anjou, king of French of Sicily and Naples, in northern Epeiros.

1282 : The « Sicilian Vespers » (end of Frankish rule over Sicily and southern Italy) and Michael VIII's involvement ; neutralisation of the danger posed by Charles I of Anjou. — Death of Michael VIII and succession of Andronikos II Palaiologos (to 1328).

1284 : Detrimental measure of emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos to disband the Byzantine navy.

1288-1289 : Osman I, first Ottoman leader (*emir*) and founder of the Osmanli Emirate.

1299 : Byzantine treaty with Stefan II Urosh Milutin, Nemanid ruler of Serbia, who marries Andronikos II's daughter, Simonis.

1302 : Termination of Venetian-Genoese confrontation on Byzantine territories and renewed concessions to Saint Mark. — Byzantine defeat by Ottoman at Baphaeus, north-western Anatolia, the first recorded imperial defeat by its definitive adversary.

1303-1311 : Catalan mercenaries under Roger de Flor fight Byzantium's Turkoman enemies in western Anatolia, but they also carry on inroads in northern and central Greek lands (until 1311).

1304-1308 : Turkoman capture of Ephesus and surrounding areas.

1307 : Byzantine-Bulgarian treaty.

1309 : The Great Papal Schism : the Popes at Avignon (until 1377).

1311 : Catalans defeat Franks at « battle of lake Kopaïs » (actually at Halmyros) and found Catalan Duchy of Thebes and Athens (to 1388).

1321-1328 : First Byzantine civil war between Palaiologoi Andronikos II and III.

1326 : Ottomans capture Proussa/Bursa, which becomes their first capital (to 1368/1369). Orchan succeeds Osman I as second Ottoman emir.

1328 : Andronikos II abdicates and adopts monasticism.

1328-1331 : Ottoman siege and conquest of Nicaea/Iznik.

1330 : Bulgarian defeat by Serbs at Velbuzhd.

1333 : Pact of peace between Byzantium-Ottomans. — Andronikos III Palaiologos resumes control over Thessaly.

1334-1338 : Papal league against Turkomans of Aydin and capture of Smyrna.

1337 : Ottoman conquest of Nikomedeia/Izmit.

1340 : Byzantine control over Epeiros reasserted.

1341-1347 : Second Byzantine civil war between John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos.

1342-1349 : The « Zealot » régime in Thessalonica.

1346 : Tsar Stefan IV Dushan of Serbia (1331-1355) proclaimed « emperor of Greeks, Serbs and Albanians ».

1347 : Devastating European « Black Death » (plague) scorches Constantinople.

1348 : Serbs occupy Thessaly and Epeiros ; foundation of the Morea Despotate at Mystras (Kantakouzenoi to 1383, Palaiologoi to 1460/1461).

1348-1349 : Byzantine-Genoese naval engagements.

1350-1359 : Gregory Palamas, champion of « Hesychast » movement, elected archbishop of Thessalonica.

1351 : Pro-Hesychast ecclesiastical council in Constantinople presided by John VI.

1352 : Civil strife between emperors John V Palaiologos and John VI's son, Matthew Kantakouzenos ; Ottomans capture east Thracian fortress of Tzȳmpe.

1354 : Ottomans capture Kallipolis/Gallipoli peninsula thus setting a firm footing on European soil — official commencement of Ottoman Balkan conquests ; abdication of John VI who becomes monk Joasaph.

1359-1365 : Ottoman conquests in Thrace (Didymoteichon/Dimetoka).

1362 : Murad I succeeds Orchan as third Ottoman ruler (the first to assume the title of sultan).

1366 : John V Palaiologos in Hungary, in quest of western help against Turks ; count Amadeo of Savoy recaptures Gallipoli for the Byzantines, bringing temporary respite.

1368/1369 : Ottoman conquest of Adrianople/Edirne, which replaces Bursa as Ottoman capital.

1369/1370 : Desperate attempts of John V Palaiologos to secure Western help ; he acknowledges papal supremacy during visit in Rome.

1371 : Serbs under Serrai despot Ugliesha defeated by Ottomans at Chernomen, on Maritsa/Hebros river.

1373 : John V becomes Murad I's vassal.

1376-1379 : Another civil war in Byzantium between Palaiologoi John V and his son Andronikos IV.

1371-1417 : Popes return to Rome, but Great Papal Schism continues (until Council of Constance, 1418).

1382-1387 : Manuel (II) Palaiologos ruler in Thessalonica.

1383 : Death in Mystras of monk Joasaph (ex-emperor John VI Kantakouzenos).

1383-1385 : Further Ottoman conquests in Macedonia (Serrai, Berroia, etc.).

1385 : Ottomans conquer Sofia, Bulgaria.

1386/1387-1392/1393 : First stage of Ottoman annexation of Thessaly (to 1454/1470).

1387-1394 : First Ottoman conquest of Thessalonica.

1389 : First battle of Kossovo-Polje ; defeat of Serbs by Ottomans. Slain sultan Murad I succeeded by Bayazid I.

1390 : Philadelphia, last Anatolian stronghhold of Byzantium, surrenders to Ottomans. — John VII emperor in Thessalonica (son of rebellious Andronikos IV).

1391 : Death of John V Palaiologos and succession of Manuel II (to 1425).

1391/1392-1397/1398 : Ottoman invasions in the Morea, headed by Evrenos bey and Yakub bey ; sack of Arkadia and Argolid.

1393 : Ottoman annexation to Bulgaria (capture of Tirnovo by Bayazid I).

1394-1403 : Second Ottoman conquest of Thessalonica.

1394-1402 : Eight year siege of Constantinople by sultan Bayazid I, who is however unable to deliver the final blow.

1396 : Crusade of Nicopolis under Hungarian king Sigismund defeated by Ottomans. — Manuel Chrysolorās commences his Greek lectures in Florence.

1399 : French relief force under marshal Boucicaut arrives in Constantinople.

1399-1403 : Manuel II Palaiologos visits courts of Western European rulers in vain quest for support against Ottoman peril. Imperial receptions in Italy, France and England, but no spectacular results.

1402 : Timur (Tamerlane) defeats Ottomans under Bayazid I at Ankyra/Ankara ; Byzantium gains respite and lease of life for another half century.

1403-1413 : Period of Ottoman civil strife enables Manuel II Palaiologos to effect certain reconquests for the Empire. End of Ottoman civil war by Mehmed's victory over Musa Chelebi.

1414-1418 : Council of Constance ends Great Papal Schism : election of Pope Martin V (1417).

1421 : Murad II succeeds Mehmed I as new Ottoman sultan.

1422 : Abortive Ottoman siege of Constantinople and Thessalonica.

1423 : Devastating Ottoman inroads in the Morea and capture of « Hexamilion » fortress on the Isthmus. — Temporary Venetian rule in Thessalonica (to 1430).

1425 : Death of Manuel II Palaiologos and succession of John VIII (to 1448).

1429-1432 : Constantine Palaiologos, despot of Morea, besieges and captures Patras, thus abolishing Frankish Principality of Achaia.

1430 : After a devastating earthquake Thessalonica surrenders to Ottoman sultan Murad II (third and final Turkish conquest of the city). — Surrender of Ioannina and the besieging pasha's privileged « *horismōs* » in favour of the city's inhabitants.

1431 : Council of Basle : Eugenius IV new pope.

1438-1439 : Major attempt of emperor John VIII Palaiologos towards Union of Churches fails : the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Anti-unionist outrage in Byzantium neutralises the Council's decisions (of July 1439).

1439-1440 : Ottomans seize the strong fortresses of Smederevo and Belgrade.

1443-1468 : Murad II's and Mehmed II's attacks on Albania. — Epic struggles of Albanian hero, George Kastriotes-Skanderbeg, against consecutive Ottoman invasions.

1444 : Dismal failure of the Crusade of Varna under king Vladislav-Ladislas of Poland and Hungary against Ottomans ; Murad II victorious.

1448 : Second battle of Kossovo-Polje and defeat of Hungarians and Wallachians under Janos Hunyadi by Ottomans. Death of John VIII Palaiologos.

1449-1453 : Reign of last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XII Palaiologos (crowned at Mystras).

1449-1460/1461 : Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos rule at Mystras. A period of feuds in the Despotate of the Morea.

1449-1479 : Ottoman annexation of last portion of Epeiros completes conquest of the Helladic area.

1451 : Death of Murad II and succession of Mehmed II as new Ottoman sultan.

1452 : Building of « Rumeli Hisar » on the European side of the Bosphorus « anticipates » ensuing Ottoman siege of the « Queen of Cities » ; death of the celebrated neoplatonist George Gemistos - « Pletho » in Mystras. — Union of churches proclaimed in Constantinople.

1453 (29 May) : Fall of Constantinople to Mehmed II the Conqueror ; the City / « Istanbul » becomes capital of the Ottoman Sultanate.

1454-1470 : Gradual Ottoman annexation of last portions of Thessaly completes conquest of central Greece.

1454 : George Scholarios-Gennadios II becomes patriarch of Constantinople and secures privileges by the Ottoman « Conqueror ».

1456-1458 : Annexation of the Duchy of Athens and Thebes by Ottomans.

1460-1461 : Annexation of the Morea Despotate by Ottomans. Surrendering despot Demetrios receives revenues by Mehmed II.

1461 : Fall of Trebizond to the Ottomans ; end of Grand Komnenoi Empire.

1473 : Marriage of Zoe Palaiologina to Russian ruler, tsar Ivan III. Moscow assumes the historical rôle of « Third Rome ».

References. — See preface of this book, note 1. Detailed chronological tables of Byzantine history are provided in André Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine*, Paris, 1974 (Greek trans., Athens, 1996 ; in parallel columns for political events, religion, cultural life, the Persian and Muslim world, the Slavonic world and the Western world — for period A.D. 285-1515), in A. Carile, *Materiali di storia bizantina*, Bologna, 1994 (chapter IV entitled « The events » [« Gli avvenimenti »], compiled by A. Pertusi - A. Carile for period A.D. 324-1461) and (in Bulgarian) in Vasilka Tapkova-Zaimova - D. Dimitrov - P. Pavlov, *Chronological Encyclopaedia*, vol. VI (on Byzantine history from 313 to 1453, with parallel events in the Balkans and Western Europe, 4th - late 15th cc.), Veliko Tarnovo, n.d. (1995). A detailed chronology for the span A.D. 284-717 (in Greek), in Photeine Vlachopoulou, in *Byzantinos Domos* 2 (1988) ; 3 (1989) ; 4 (1990) ; and 8-9 (1995-1997 ; publ. 1998) ; also, for the period 717-867 see Maria Anastassopoulou, *Byzantinos Domos* 10-11 (2000).

Convenient chronological outlines of the Byzantine Empire may also be found in C. Paparregopoulos, *History of the Greek nation* (add. P. Karolides), vol. VIII, 6th ed., Athens, 1932 (in Greek), p. 249-262 (period A.D. 293-1461), in G. Walther, *La vie quotidienne à Byzance au siècle des Comnènes (1081-1180)*, Paris, 1986 (Greek trans., Athens, 1988 ; repr., 1994 ; despite its limited title, it contains a concise chronology of the entire Byzantine period : 330-1453) and in H. Haussig, *History of Byzantine civilisation*, London, 1971 (table for period 324-1453, with parallel columns for political history, economy and law, literature and learning, arts and music). See also the concise chronologies in Ph. Whitting (ed.), *Byzantium : an introduction*, Oxford, 1971 (repr., 1981), in D.J. Geanakoplos, *Medieval Western civilisation and the Byzantine and Islamic worlds*, Boston, 1979 (Greek trans., Thessalonica, 1993 ; three tables with chronological overlappings for period 313-1589) and in P. Schreiner, *Byzanz*, Munich, 1986 (the « Zeittafel » for period 324-1461). See, finally, the chronological table in the recent collective volume ed. by Bohumila Zasterova (d. 1987), *History of Byzantium*, Prague, 1994 (in Czech), as well as in the just published manual by J. Haldon, *Byzantium : a history*, Stroud-Charleston, U.S., 2000.

Especially for the Empire of Grand Komnenoi (Trebizond-Pontos) see table in A. Savvides, entry « Trebizond, Empire of » (in Greek), *Encyclopaedia of Pontic Hellenism*, vol. 6, Thessalonica, 1989.

List of rulers

I. Late Roman emperors (Augusti)

Diocletian, 284-305.
Maximian, 286-305.
Constantius I Chlorus, 305-306.
Galerius, 306-311.
Constantine I, 306-324 (337).
Maxentius, 306-312.
Licinius, 307-324.
Maximinus, 312-313.

II. Byzantine emperors

Dynasty of Constantine

Constantine I the Great, 324-337.
Constantine II, 337-340.
Constans I, 337-350.
Constantius II, (337) 351-361.
Julian, 361-363.
Jovian, 363-364.
Valens (in the East), 364-378.
Valentinian I (in the West), 364-375.
Gratian, 378-379.

Dynasty of Theodosius

Theodosius I the Great, 379-395.
Arcadius, 395-408.
Theodosius II Minor, 408-450.
Marcian, 450-457.

Dynasty
of Leo the Thracian

Leo I the Thracian, 457-474.
Leo II, 474.
Zeno the Isaurian (first reign), 474-475.
Basiliscus, 475-476.
Zeno (second reign), 476-491.
Anastasios I the « Dikoros », 491-518.

Dynasty of Justinian

Justin I, 518-527.
Justinian I the Great, 527-565.
Justin II, 565-578.
Tiberius I - Constantine, 578-582.
Maurice, 582-602.

Phokas, 602-610.

Dynasty of Herakleios

Herakleios I, 610-641.
Herakleios II (Constantine III), 641.
Heraklonas, 641.
Constans II « Pogonatos », 641-668.
Constantine IV, 668-685.
Justinian II (first reign), 685-695.
Leontios, 695-698.
Tiberius II - Apsimaros, 698-705.
Justinian II « Rhinotmetos », 705-711.

Philippikos Bardanes, 711-713.
Anastasios II - Artemios, 713-715.
Theodosius III Adramyttenos, 715-717.

Isaurian
(or Syriac) dynasty

Leo III the Isaurian, 717-741.
Constantine V « Kopronymos », 741-775.
Leo IV the « Khazar », 775-780.
Constantine VI, 780-797.

Irene the Athenian, 797-802.

Nikephoros I, 802-811.
Stavrakios, 811.
Michael I Rhangabe, 811-813.
Leo V the Armenian, 813-820.

Amorian
or Phrygian dynasty

Michael II the « Stammerer », 820-829.
Theophilos, 829-842.
Michael III the « Drunkard », 842-867.

Macedonian dynasty

Basil I the Macedonian, 867-886.
Leo VI the Wise, 886-912.
Alexander, 912-913.
Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, 913 (945)-959.
Romanos I Lekapenos, 920-944.
Romanos II, 959-963.
Nikephoros II Phokas, 963-969.
John I Tzimiskes, 969-976.
Basil II the « Bulgarslayer », 976-1025.
Constantine VIII, 1025-1028.
Romanos III Argyros, 1028-1034.
Michael IV the Paphlagonian, 1034-1041.
Michael V « Kalaphates » (« the Caulker »), 1041-1042.
Zoe and Theodora the porphyrogennitai, 1042.
Constantine IX Monomachos, 1042-1055.
Theodora (again), 1055-1056.
Michael VI Stratiotikos, 1056-1057.

Dynasty
of the Komneno-Doukai

Isaakios I Komnenos, 1057-1059.
Constantine X Doukas, 1059-1067.
Eudokia Makrembolitissa (regent), 1067.
Romanos IV Diogenes, 1068-1071
Michael VII Doukas « Parapinakes », 1071-1078.
Nikephoros III Botaneiates, 1078-1081.

Komnenian dynasty

Alexios I Komnenos, 1081-1118.
John II Komnenos, 1118-1143.
Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180.
Alexios II Komnenos, 1180-1183.
Andronikos I Komnenos, 1183-1185.

Dynasty
of the Angeloi

Isaakios II Angelos, 1185-1195.
Alexios III Angelos, 1195-1203.
Isaakios II (again) and Alexios IV Angelos, 1203-1204.

Alexios V Doukas « Mourtzouphlos » (« bushy eye-browed »), 1204.
1204 : First conquest of Constantinople by the Latins.

Laskarid
dynasty / in Nicaea

Constantine XI Lascaris, 1204-1205.
Theodore I Laskaris, 1204/1205-1222.
John III Doukas Batatzes, 1222-1254.
Theodore II Doukas Laskaris, 1254-1258.
John IV Laskaris, 1258.

Michael VIII Palaiologos, 1258/1259-1261.
1261 : Constantinople recaptured by the Byzantines of Nicaea.

Palaiologan dynasty

Michael VIII Palaiologos, 1261-1282.
Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1282-1328.
Andronikos III Palaiologos, 1328-1341.
John V Palaiologos (first reign), 1341-1347.
John VI Kantakouzenos, 1347-1354.
John V Palaiologos (second reign), 1354-1376.
Andronikos IV Palaiologos, 1376-1379.
John V Palaiologos (third reign), 1379-1391.
John VII Palaiologos (co-emperor), 1390-1391.
Manuel II Palaiologos, 1391-1425.
John VIII Palaiologos, 1425-1448.

Constantine XII Palaiologos-Dragases, 1449-1453.
1453 : Second and definitive conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks.

IIIa. Latin Empire of Constantinople / « Romania »

Baldwin I of Flanders, 1204-1205.
Henry of Flanders, 1205/1206-1216.
Yolanda of Flanders (Peter of Courtenay, 1217), 1217-1219.
Regency, 1219-1221.
Robert de Courtenay, 1221-1228.
Baldwin II de Courtenay (or his regents), 1228-1261.
John of Brienne, 1231-1237.
1261 : Recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantines.

IIIb. Latin Kingdom
of Thessalonica

Boniface of Montferrat, 1204-1207
Demetrios of Monferrat, 1207-1224

IV. Autonomous State (« Despotate »)
of Epeiros (Western Greece)
and « Empire » of Thessalonica

Michael I Angelos Doukas Komnenos (in Arta), 1204/1205 - c. 1215.
Theodore Angelos Doukas Komnenos (since 1224 his seat established in Thessalonica), c. 1215-1230.

Manuel Angelos Doukas Komnenos (in Thessalonica), 1230-1237.
John (despot in Thessalonica), c. 1237-1242 and 1242-1244.
Demetrios (despot in Thessalonica), 1244-1246.
1246 : capture of Thessalonica by John III of Nicaea.

Constantine Angelos (in Arta), 1224 - c. 1230.
Michael II Angelos Doukas Komnenos, c. 1230/1231 - c. 1267/1268 or 1271.
Nikephoros I, c. 1267/1268 or 1271 - c. 1295/1296 or 1297.
Thomas, c. 1295/1296 or 1297-1318.
Nicholas Orsini, 1318-1323.
John Orsini, 1323-1335.
Nikephoros II, 1335-1339/1340.
1339/1340 : annexation of Epeiros by Andronikos III Palaiologos.
1348 : Serbian occupation of Epeiros (and Thessaly).

Era of Serbian, Albanian and Italian occupation (of portions of Epeiros), 1348-1359 and 1359-1460.
Ottoman annexation of Epeiros (1449), 1460-1479.

V. Semi-autonomous « State » of Thessaly (Central Greece)

(Latin occupation), c. 1204 - c. 1213/1222.
(Common fortunes with Epeiros), c. 1222-1268/1271.

John I Angelos Doukas (sebastokrator), 1268/1271-1289/1290 or 1296.
Constantine Doukas, 1289/1290 or 1296-1303.
John II Doukas, 1303-1318.

Partition of Thessalian lands (unstable status), 1318 - c. 1333.
Thessaly captured by John Orsini of Epeiros, c. 1333-1335.
Palaiologan occupation, 1335-1348.
Serbian occupation, 1348-1373.
Rule of local Thessalian lords, c. 1373 - c. 1392/1393.
Gradual Ottoman conquest, 1386/1387 or 1392/1393-1454/1470.

VI. Frankish principality of Achaia (North-Western Peloponnese)

William I of Champlitte, 1205-1209.
Geoffrey I Villehardouin, 1209/1210-1228.
Geoffrey II Villehardouin, 1228-1245.
William II Villehardouin, 1245-1278.

Charles I of Anjou, 1278-1285.
Charles II of Anjou, 1285-1289.
Isabella of Villehardouin (and her regents), 1289-1307.
Philip I of Tarentum, 1307-1313.
Mathilda Annonica and Louis of Burgundy, 1313-1318.
John of Gravina, 1318-1333.
Catherine de Valois and Robert of Tarentum, 1333-1346.
Robert of Tarentum (alone), 1346-1364.
Maria of Bourbon, 1364-1370.
Philip II of Tarentum, 1370-1374.
Joanna I of Naples, 1374-1376.
Otto of Brawnschweig, 1376-1377.
Rule of Hospitaller Knights of Saint John, 1377-1381.

James de Baux, 1381-1383.
Maio de Cocquerel, 1383-1396.
Peter of San Superan, 1396-1402.
Maria Zaccaria (regent), 1402-1404.
Centurione II Zaccaria, 1404-1432.
1432 : capture of Patras by the Morea despot, Constantine Palaiologos.

VII. The Despotate of the Morea (Peloponnese)

Palaiologan rule, 1262-1348.

Manuel Kantakouzenos, 1348-1380.
Matthew Kantakouzenos, 1380-1383.
Demetrios Kantakouzenos, 1383.

Theodore I Palaiologos, 1383-1407.
Theodore II Palaiologos, 1407-1428.
Theodore II - Constantine - Thomas Palaiologoi (co-rule), 1428-1443.
Constantine and Thomas Palaiologoi (co-rule), 1443-1449.
1449 : Constantine crowned at Mystra as last Byzantine emperor : Constantine XII Palaiologos : see above : II Byzantine emperors.
Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologoi (co-rule), 1449-1460.
1460/1461 : Ottoman conquest of Mystra and the Morea.

VIII. The Empire of Trebizond (Pontos)

Alexios I Grand Komnenos, 1204-1222.
(David Grand Komnenos, co-founder, 1204.)
Andronikos I Gidos or Gidon, 1222-1235.
John I Axoūchos, 1235-1238.
Manuel I Strategikos, 1238-1263.
Andronikos II Grand Komnenos, 1263-1266.
George Grand Komnenos, 1266-1280.
John II Grand Komnenos (first reign), 1280-1284/1285.
Theodora, 1284-1285.
John II Grand Komnenos (second reign), 1284/1285-1297.
Alexios II Grand Komnenos, 1297-1330.
Andronikos III Grand Komnenos, 1330-1332.
Manuel II Grand Komnenos, 1332.
Basil Grand Komnenos, 1332-1340.
Irene Palaiologina, 1340-1341.
Anna « Anachoutloū » or « Azachoutloū », 1341-1342.
Michael Grand Komnenos (first reign), 1341.

John III Grand Komnenos, 1342-1344.
Michael Grand Komnenos (second reign), 1344-1349.
Alexios III Grand Komnenos, 1349-1390.
Manuel III Grand Komnenos, 1390-1416/1417.
Alexios IV Grand Komnenos, 1416/1417-1429.
John IV « Kaloioannes » (« Good-John »), 1429-1458.
David I Grand Komnenos, 1458-1461 (also as « *epitropos* » / custodian of Alexios V Grand Komnenos in 1458).
1461 : Ottoman conquest of Trebizond and the Pontos.

References. — Tables of Byzantine and foreign rulers at the end of *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV/1, 2nd ed. (1966) ; V. Grumel, *La chronologie*, Paris, 1958 ; on various other Latin dynasties of the Greek mainland and insular area, see also detailed tables in K. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, Berlin, 1873 (repr., Athens, 1961) ; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant... 1204-1566*, London, 1908 (repr., Cambridge, 1964) ; P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean (1204-1500)*, London - New York, 1995 ; also detailed tables of various Muslim dynasties (Arabic, Turkish) as well as of Mongols in C.E. Bosworth, *The new Islamic dynasties*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1996.

Further reading

The English-speaking student or general reader of Byzantine history and civilisation is in the fortunate position of being able to study the developments of an institution with the longest historical duration in the course of the Middle Ages through the aid of an important number of manuals, specialised monographs, collective and encyclopaedic works and innumerable articles in several Byzantinological and other journals. Important general detailed or shorter English accounts of Byzantine history have appeared in the course of the 20th century, like those by Alexander Vasiliev (A.D. 324-1453), George Ostrogorsky (A.D. 324-1453) and recently, John Julius Norwich (with his trilogy on the period A.D. 306-1453) and Warren Treadgold (A.D. 284-1461), as well as those by Joan Hussey, Enno Franzius, Speros Vryonis, Louis Bréhier (covering briefly the entire period), Robert Browning (A.D. 500-1453) and John Haldon, to name but a few ; certain sections in volumes I-IV of George Finlay's *History of Greece* may also be consulted with profit, while, of course, Edward Gibbon's monumental *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is also still of use despite its prejudices (particularly through the explanatory notes in J.B. Bury's authoritative edition), while the late 19th - early 20th century general shorter accounts by Charles Oman and Nicolae Iorga are still of some use. There are also several monographs with detailed accounts on different periods of Byzantine history, from John Bagnell Bury (A.D. 395-867 and 976-1025), F.W. Bussell (A.D. 81-1081), Robert Byron (A.D. 330-1453) and Norman Baynes (A.D. 324-1204) to Arnold Jones (A.D. 284-602), Romilly Jenkins (A.D. 610-1071), Charles Brand (A.D. 1180-1204), Donald M. Nicol (A.D. 1261-1453), Michael Angold (A.D. 1025-1204), Warren Treadgold (A.D. 780-842) and Aikaterine Christophilopoulou (A.D. 324-867 ; an Engl. trans. of the rest of her synthesis for the period A.D. 867-1081, is currently in preparation).

Moreover, quite a number of monographs (mainly in English and French) have appeared on various topics of Byzantine civilisation, culture and everyday life beginning with Steven Runciman, Charles Diehl and Louis Bréhier and reaching the recent decades' writings by David Talbot Rice and Tamara Talbot Rice, Herbert Haussig, André Guillou and Cyril Mango [73]. Also, the collective synthesis planned almost a century ago by the indefatigable John B. Bury, namely volume IV of the monumental *Cambridge Medieval History* on the Byzantine Empire (A.D. 717-1453), is also read profitably both in its first and second editions, authored by an impressive array of Byzanti-

nists and other medievalists of the 1920s and the 1960s, while the pre-717 period may be consulted in several chapters of *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XII (1939), and *Cambridge Medieval History*, vols. I-III (1911-1913), likewise planned by J.B. Bury's inventive and organised thought. In addition, there are some important chapters on Byzantine economy, commerce and agrarian conditions in *Cambridge Economic History*, I-II (2nd ed. 1966), as well as in the well-stuctured collective manual edited by Norman Baynes and H.St.L. Moss in the late 1940s, likewise authored by a team of accomplished scholars. The recent collective *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium* (edited by A. Kazhdan and others in 3 volumes, New York - Oxford, 1991) has now become a standard reference tool for both the researcher and the advanced student on account of its wealth of material on diverse subjects (persons, terms and notions, locations, law, literature, art, etc.), while the beginner looking for Byzantine prosopography may now consult D.M. Nicol's *Biographical Dictionary of the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1991) ; on the other hand, the more advanced student and the researcher who reads Greek may consult the new collective Byzantine prosopography (in progress) edited by A.G.C. Savvides, *Encyclopaedic prosopographical lexicon of Byzantine history and civilisation*, vols. I-III (Athens, 1996-1998 ff.) [74]. Finally, as noted in the *Preface* (note 6), specialised monographs (and other studies) on Byzantine emperors, patriarchs, scholars, administrators and ither personalities, only selectively presented in this bibliography, will abundantly appear under the relevant entries in the announced manual by A.G.C. Savvides, *Who was who in Byzantium*, one of the two planned sequels to the present volume.

The bibliography

As pointed out in the preface, the ensuing bibliography does not profess completeness, since it does not include editions of primary sources (and their translations) or contributions to journals, bulletins, collective volumes and encyclopaedic/lexicographical works. We have attempted, however, an adequate representation of modern secondary works in English, Greek and the major western languages of Byzantinology (for publications in Russian and other Slavonic languages, see preface, note 3). The following lists appear in eleven thematological units, as follows :

I. Collective major works and encyclopaedias

Buchwald W. - Hohlweg A. - Prinz O., *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischen Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, Munich, [3]1982 (Greek trans., Athens, 1993, vol. I on Greek authors).

Cambridge Ancient History, vol. XII, 1939 (collective work ; chapters on Diocletian, Constantine I and his successors).

Cambridge Medieval History, vols I-III, 1911-1913 (repr., 1924-1936) (various chapters cover early Byzantine history until A.D. 717 ; of monumental value, still remains irreplacable in several aspects).

Cambridge Medieval History, vol. IV : *The Eastern Roman Empire (717-1453)*, 1923 (repr., 1936).

Cambridge Medieval History, vol. [2]IV (in two parts) : *The Byzantine Empire (717-1453)*, 1966-1967 (Greek trans. in 2 vols, Athens, 1979) (authoritative bibliographies of sources and secondary works).

History of the Greek nation, vols VII, VIII, IX (= *Byzantine Hellenism*) and vol. X (= *Hellenism under foreign domination*), Athens, 1974-1979 (in Greek ; collective, covers the periods 324-642, 642-1071, 1071-1453 and 1453-1669 respectively ; thematic bibliographies at end, but no references in the text).

Irmscher J. (ed.), *Lexikon der Byzantinistik*, Amsterdam, 1998 ff. (in progress contains brief and succinct entries for first-hand reference).

Kazhdan A. (ed.-in-chief), *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols consecutively paginated, New York - Oxford, 1991 (the best — so far — lexicographical historical encyclopaedia on Byzantium ; collective in lemmatographic form ; good bibliographies).

New Cambridge Medieval History, vols II, III, V, VII, 1995, 1998, 1999 (cover respectively periods c. 700 - c. 900, c. 900 - c. 1024, c. 1198 - c. 1300 and 1415-1500).

Nikoloūdes N. (ed.), *Lexicon of Byzantine Peloponnese*, Athens, 1998 (in Greek ; collective/good bibliographies).

Savvides A.G.C. (ed.), *Encyclopaedic prosopographical lexicon of Byzantine history and civilisation*, vols I-III (Athens, 1996-1998 ff.) (in Greek / in progress).

II. Byzantine sources, literature, philosophy, education and language

Barker E., *Social and political thought in Byzantium from Justinian I to the last Palaeologus*, Oxford C.P., 1957 (repr., 1961) (passages from sources in Engl. trans.).

Bartikian Hr., *Byzantium through Armenian sources*, Thessalonica, 1981 (in Greek) (most valuable).

Beaton R. - Ricks D. (eds.), *Digenes Akrites : new approaches to Byzantine heroic poetry*, Aldershot, 1993 (collective).

Beaton R., *The medieval Greek Romance*, Cambridge U.P., [2]1994 (Greek trans., Athens, 1996).

Beck H.-G., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959 (repr., 1977) (immensely valuable).

Beck H.-G., *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Munich, 1971 (Greek trans., Athens, 1988) (important information on the *akritai*).

Beck H.-G., *Byzantinisches Lesebuch*, Munich, 1982.

Browning R., *Medieval and modern Greek*, London, [2]1983 (Greek trans., Athens, 1991) (fundamental).

Byzantine books and bookmen, Washington, 1975 (collective).

Colonna Elisabetta, *Gli storici bizantini*, vol. I : *Storici profani*, Napoli, 1956 (covers period 4th-15th centuries).

Constantinides C., *Higher education in Byzantium, 13th-14th centuries, 1204 - c. 1310*, Nicosia, 1982 (important).

Constantinides C., *Byzantium's contribution to the survival of ancient Greek letters*, Ioannina, 1995 (in Greek).

Demetrakopoulos Ph., *Byzantium and modern Greek intelligenzia, mid-19th century*, Athens, 1996 (in Greek ; important collection of texts).

Detorakes Th., *Byzantine philology : persons and texts*, vol. I, Herakleion, Crete, 1995 (in Greek ; covers period A.D. 150-527 ; good bibliographies).

Dölger F., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmisches Reiches*, 5 vols, Munich-Berlin, 1924-1965, 2nd ed. by P. Wirth of vols II (1995) and III (1977) (fundamental for researhers of Byzantine history ; cover the period 565-1453, providing invaluable bibliographical references to sources and secondary works).

Dudley D. - Lang D.M. (eds.), *The Penguin companion to literature*, vol. IV : *Classical and Byzantine, Oriental and African*, Harmondsworth, 1969 (Byzantine entries by R. Browning).

Fuchs F., *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1926 (fundamental).

Geanakoplos D.J., *Byzantium : church, society and civilisation seen through contemporary eyes*, Chicago-London, 1984 (Eng. trans. of original sources extracts ; most valuable).

Grégoire H., *Digenes Akrites : Byzantine epic in history and poetry*, New York, 1942 (in Greek ; lucid).

Harris J., *Greek émigrés in the West (1400-1520)*, Camberley, 1995 (a recent account of the Diaspora scholars).

Hunger H., *Die hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols, Munich, 1978 (Greek trans. in 3 vols, Athens, 1987/^{2}1991, 1992, 1994) (fundamental, excellent bibliographies).

Hussey Joan, *Church and learning in the Byzantine Empire (867-1185)*, London, 1937 (excellent monograph, still used lucratively).

Impellizeri S., *La letteratura bizantina da Costantinopoli agli Iconoclasti*, Bari, 1965 (important).

Irmscher J., *Einführung in die Byzantinistik*, Berlin, 1971 (methodical survey of the development of modern Byzantinology).

Karayannopulos J. - Weiss G., *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, 2 vols consecutively paginated, Wiesbaden, 1982 (see also the less complete Greek ed. : J. Karayannopulos, *Sources of Byzantine history*, Thessalonica, 1970/1987, 5th ed.) (methodical manual, also useful for Latin and Oriental sources).

Karpōzelos A., *Byzantine historiographers and chroniclers*, vol. I : *4th-7th centuries*, Athens, 1997 (in Greek).

Kazhdan A. - Franklin S., *Studies on Byzantine literature of the 11th-12th centuries*, Cambridge U.P. - Paris, 1984.

Kazhdan A., *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz : Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, Munich, 1989 (Greek trans., Athens, 1995).

Kazhdan A. (coll. L. Sherry, Christine Angelide), *A history of Byzantine literature (650-850)*, Athens, 1999.

Komines A., *Introductory courses on Byzantine philology*, Athens, repr., 1974 (in Greek).

Krumbacher K., *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, Munich, ^{2}1897 (Greek trans. in 3 vols, Athens, 1897-1900 ; repr., 1974) (a landmark in the foundation and development of Byzantinology ; still used profitably).

Lemerle P., *Le premier humanisme byzantin : notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle*, Paris, 1971 (Greek trans., Athens, 1981 ; repr., 1985).

Lounghis T., *The ideology of Byzantine historiography*, Athens, 1993 (in Greek ; covers period until 11th century ; important new insights).

Manāphes C., *The libraries of Constantinople... until the fall of 1453*, Athens, 1972 (in Greek).

Mastrodemetres P., *The poetry of modern Hellenism*, Athens, 1991 (in Greek with selections of texts ; contains part on Byzantine and post-Byzantine poetry, on the akritic songs, etc.).

Matsoūkas N., *History of Byzantine philosophy*, Thessalonica, ^{2}1984 (in Greek).

Mazal O., *Handbuch der Byzantinistik*, Vienna, 1989 (useful manual).

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VI. Late Antiquity-early Byzantium

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Dagron G. *et alii* (eds.), *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, vol. IV : *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, Paris, 1992 (collective).

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Kontostergiou Despoina, *The Ecumenical Councils*, Thessalonica, 1991 (in Greek).

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Nicol D.M., *Meteora, the rock monasteries of Thessaly*, London, ²1975 (the best account on the topic).

Nicol D.M., *Church and society in the last centuries of Byzantium*, Cambridge U.P., 1979 (lucid account).

Norden W., *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, Berlin, 1903 (repr., Berlin, 1958 ; New York, 1965) (fundamental despite its age ; reaches A.D. 1453).

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X. Western Feudalism, Byzantium and the Crusades, Latin domination

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Mayer H.-E., *The Crusades*, Oxford U.P., 1972 (trans. of German orig., Stuttgart, 1965 ; 8th ed., Stuttgart-Berlin-Cologne, 1995) (basic manual).

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XI. Byzantino-Africana

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Notes

1. We do not yet possess a modern complete chronological manual on Byzantine history ; the old and still very useful attempt by E. de Muralt (*Essai de chronographie byzantine*, vols. I-II, Saint Petersburg, 1855, and Basle-Geneva, 1871-1873 ; repr., Amsterdam, 1963) covered the periods A.D. 395-1057 and 1057-1453, but is, of course, in need of radical revision ; *cf.* A.G.C. Savvides, « A Byzantinological chronological manual in need of revision : E. de Muralt's, « Essai de chronographie byzantine », *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 10 (Pretoria, 1999), p. 164-166. Of handy use are also the old manual compiled and edited by W. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of world history : ancient, medieval and modern, chronologically arranged*, Cambridge Mass., ²1948 (sections « The Later Empire, 284-527 » ; « The Eastern Empire to 1025 » ; « The Eastern Empire, 1025-1204 » ; « Latin and Greek states in the Near East, 1204-1261 » ; and « The Eastern Empire, 1261-1453 »), as well as the series « Chronology of world history », vols. I (*Chronology of the ancient world, 10.000 B.C. - A.D. 799*, compiled by H. Mellersh) and II (*Chronology of the medieval world, A.D. 800-1491*, compiled by R. Storey), Oxford, 1973 (repr., 1995). And, in French, see J. Delorme, *Chronologie des civilisations*, I-II, Paris, 1969 (Greek trans., Athens, 1985) (for the periods Antiquity - A.D. 395 and 395-1453).

2. A handy Byzantinological bibliography (in thematic units, reaching the late 1970s) in *Historia tou hellenikou ethnous*, vols. VII-IX, Athens, 1978-1979. A detailed general bibliography of secondary works (on Byzantium, the Western, the Oriental/Islamic and the Slav/Balkan worlds, in two major sections for A.D. 284-717 and 717-1461) compiled by A.G.C. Savvides, has just appeared (Athens, 2000) within the framework of the *Encyclopaedic prosopographical lexicon of Byzantine history and civilisation* (on this collective work see here « Further reading », section I). A detailed bibliography (on the period A.D. 284-717) until 1992-1993, also in A.G.C. Savvides - L. Deriziotes, *History of Byzantium*, I, Athens, ²1996, p. 293-382.

3. Although Russian is one of the strongest languages regarding Byzantine studies (and Byzantinological production), it is unfortunately almost inaccessible in several countries of the Western world, while the translations of Russian works are comparatively few. The same holds true also with other Slavic languages with an important and massive Byzantinological output, like Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian. For an overall picture of Russian/Soviet Byzantinology see the collective works *Istorija Vizantii* (vols. I-

III, Moscow, 1967) and *Kultura Vizantii* (vols. I-III, Moscow, 1984-1991). Chapters from the latter work were recently translated into Greek : Zinaida Udaltsova - G. Litavrin - I. Medvedev, *Byzantine diplomacy*, Athens, 1995. More works of Russian/Soviet Byzantinological masters should be translated into the major western languages and the same applies to the other Slavonic languages, to Hungarian, Polish, Czech, etc.

4. Except, of course, for the bibliography concerning topics in the special chapters IX, X, and XI, with a specialised treatment of Byzantium's contacts with such peoples.

5. An adeqate representation of bibliography on historical geography and regional history will appear in our sequel volume mentioned above (e.g. the notable contributions by J. Koder and his colleagues in the Viennese series « *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* »). For an excellent and concise introduction to the topic see J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner : Historisch-geographischer Abriss ihres mittelalterlichen Staates in östlichen Mittelmeerraum*, Graz, 1984, and Vienna, ²2000.

6. Such bibliographies (prosopographical-biographical-genealogical) may be conveniently found in the pertinent entries of the above mentioned *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, New York - Oxford, 1991 ; see also D. Nicol, *A biographical dictionary of the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1991 (Greek trans., Athens, 1993), and A.G.C. Savvides (ed.), *Encyclopaedic prosopographical lexicon of Byzantine history and civilisation*, I-III, Athens, 1996-1998 ff. (in Greek ; so far only the letter *A* covered ; vol. IV will include entries *Baanes-Bessas* and vol. V the entries *Berina-Ephraim*). It is hoped that a pertinent bibliography of books and articles on emperors, patriarchs and other personalities of the Byzantine Empire will appear in a third designed companion volume to this *Introduction* and its sequel on *Byzantium and the medieval world*, namely A.G.C. Savvides' *Who was Who in Byzantium* (with short informative biographical entries, also including the major personalities of Byzantium's neighbours).

7. A well-written book on Byzantine art, with English translations of several excerpts from Byzantine, Western, Oriental and Slavonic sources, is C. Mango's, *The art of the Byzantine Empire (312-1453) : sources and documents*, Englewood Cliffs - New Jersey, 1972 (2nd ed., Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1986). Three other excellent manuals in English are those by D. Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine era*, London, 1963 (repr., 1977), R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1965 (Greek trans., Athens, 1991), and recently, L. Rodley, *Byzantine art and architecture : an introduction*, Cambridge U.P., 1994, while of particular importance (in French) is Ch. Delvoye's, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1976 (Greek trans.-add. by D. Triantaphyllopoulos, Athens, repr., 1994). Bibliographies on Byzantine art and archaeology in vols. VII, VIII and IX of the collective *Historia tou hellenikou ethnous*, Athens, 1978-1979 ; also a wide selection in A.G.C. Savvides - L. Deriziotes, *History of Byzantium*, I, Athens, ²1996, p. 368-373.

8. On 1204 as the « starting point » of modern Hellenism see here, chapter I.

9. It is understandable that a different style and approach has been followed by the two authors. Thus, while Alexios G.C. Savvides makes use of explanatory or bibliographical footnotes, Benjamin Hendrickx feels that such notes should be avoided in a manual. Different conceptions between the two authors cannot but strongly contribute to the richness of perceptions and opinions, expressed in this book.

10. *Cf.* concurring views in A. Savvides - L. Deriziotes, *History of Byzantium*, I : *A.D. 284-717* (in Greek), Athens, 1984, 1996 (2nd ed.), chapter I.1. E. Stein's view in his *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, I : *284-476 n.Chr.*, Vienna, 1928, esp. p. 94 ff. There are, of course, various periodisations and datings of Byzantine history (see the old useful contribution by G. Ostrogorsky, « Die Perioden der byzantinischen Geschichte », *Historische Zeitschrift* 163, Munich-Berlin, 1941), yet the three-period schema is on the whole presented in almost all of them : *cf.* T. Lounghis, *Survey of Byzantine History*, I : *A.D. 324-1204* (in Greek), Athens, 1998 (2nd ed.), p. 33-35 ; *idem*, « Political theory as a basis for a new dating of Byzantine history » (in Greek), *Myriobiblos* 9 (Athens, 1986). The great Rumanian scholar of the first decades of our century, Nicolae Iorga, although commencing his *Histoire de la vie byzantine* (vols. I-III, Bucharest, 1934) from Justinian I's reign (in 527), also adopted the three-period division : a) 527-641 (« L'Empire œcuménique ») ; b) 641-1081 (« L'Empire moyen de civilisation hellénique ») ; and c) 1081-1453 (« L'Empire de pénétration latine »). More recently in his lucid popularised but rather poorly documented Byzantine trilogy (London, 1988, 1991, 1995), John Julius Norwich covered the spans 306-800, 800-1071 and 1071-1453, terming them accordingly « early centuries », « apogee » and « decline and fall ». Another periodisation (in five sections) was employed recently by A. Kazhdan in the collective entry « Byzantium : history of (an overview) », in *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, New York - Oxford, 1991, vol. I, p. 345-346.

11. *Cf.* T. Lounghis, *Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos' De administrando imperio*, Thessalonica, 1990 (in Greek), p. 48, note 22.

12. Ap. Vakalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek nation : the Byzantine period (1204-1461)*, New Brunswick - New Jersey, 1970 (updated 2nd Greek edition in 1974). See also his *Modern Greek history (1204-1975)*, Thessalonica, 1979 (in Greek), 2nd ed. 1985, carrying the narrative to 1985 (13th reprint, 1998). The first to associate the birth of modern Greek nationalism with the post-1204 resistance to the Latins, was C. Paparregopoulos, in the late 19th century.

13. A limited number of Byzantine authors dated the beginnings of history since the date of Rome's foundation (*ab urbe condita*), namely B.C. 753.

14. Additional proposals regarded the date A.D. 306 (Constantine I's proclamation as *caesar* in Britain), 476 (fall of the Western Empire to the Germanic tribes), and even 800 (coronation of Charles the Great/Charlemagne as emperor of the West) ; those dates, however, cannot claim preference since none of them is directly connected with the Byzantine Empire.

15. Some scholars of the past extended the middle Byzantine period to A.D. 1204, but this division is considered outdated.

16. « *Helladic* » (that is, of mainland Greece/Hellās), as opposed to the more generic term « *Hellenic* », signifying (partaking of) Greek nationality, characteristics and culture.

17. Such were the frequently encountered forms in Byzantine texts : « *Byzantios* », « *Byzantīnos* », « *Byzantis* », « *Byzantīnon Polis* » (= City of the Byzantines), etc. See C. Mango - A. Kazhdan, « Byzantion », *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium* (1991), p. 344.

18. Although in this manual Byzantine history begins with Diocletian's ascension, in A.D. 284, it is more appropriate to end Roman domination over the Greek lands in

A.D. 324, since until the foundation of Constantinople, Rome continued to be the capital of the whole of the Roman Empire.

19. Of interest on this topic is the Greek monograph by J. Romanides, *Romeosýne - Romania - Roūmele*, Thessalonica, 1975, although its author sometimes reaches far-fetched conclusions himself.

20. On the various usage of « Byzantine », « Hellenic », « Greek » and other terms, as well as on the formative years of the discipline of Byzantinology, see A. Savvides, « The birth and development of Byzantine historical and philological studies in the West : a review essay », *Mésogeios* 9-10 (Paris, 2000), p. 127-180 (with details on the 16th-19th centuries).

21. On the foundation of the « Thematic » system after A.D. 622 by emperor Herakleios I, see here chapter IV.

22. Observe the term « cultural Greekness of the Byzantine Empire », with its characteristic element of « Christian Greekness », employed by Ap. Vakalopoulos.

23. See above, chapter I, note 2, on Vakalopoulos ; also H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1975 (Greek trans., Athens, 1977 ; repr., 1988). J. Irmscher's articles deserve special mentioning here : « Nikäa als Zentrum des griechischen Patriotismus », in *Revue des études du sud-est européennes* 8 (Bucharest, 1970), and « Nikäa als Mittelpunkt des griechishen Patriotismus », in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 4 (Amsterdam, 1972).

24. All the relevant theories are conveniently gathered and discussed in : Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, *The awakening of Greek national consciousness during the 13th century*, typed M.A. diss., Bloemfontein, Orange Free State Univ., 1997 ; *cf.* Helen Sarade, *Byzantium and the origins of modern Greek national consciousness*, Toronto, 1992.

25. The 1st Ecumenical Council (Nicaea, 325) was convened to stamp out Arianism, but the latter was not effectively controlled until the 2nd Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 381), which also condemned some para-Arian ramifications ; Nestorianism (advocating the human nature in Jesus Christ) was condemned by the 3rd Ecumenical Council (Ephesus, 431) and the opposite Monophysitism (accepting but only Christ's divine nature) by the 4th Ecumenical Council (Chalcedon, 451), though both persisting heresies had to be once again contained by the 5th Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 553) ; on the other hand, the 6th Ecumenical Council (Constantinople 680-681) contained the heresy of Monothelitism (advocating only the divine will of Christ), while several paganistic ethics and other matters were eventually resolved by the « Penthēkte » (5th and 6th) Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 691-692).

26. On the Iconoclastic crisis see below, chapters IV and VII. It was temporarily controlled by the 7th Ecumenical Council at Constantinople-Nicaea (787), the last Ecumenical Council according to Orthodoxy.

27. On the Byzantine monarch's absolutism see below, chapter VI.

28. For a pictorial representation of post-1204 Byzantine history (i.e. the later section of the Late Byzantine Empire), see chart two in this chapter.

29. Byzantium, too, had its own « feudal » characteristics, which however do not resemble, in their basic features, those of Western European feudalism ; this is why some byzantinists in recent decades have spoken of a « quasi-feudalism » in Byzan-

tium, or of « para-feudal » phaenomena in the Byzantine Empire before 1204. On this see here, chapter X.

30. Not simply « Frankish domination », since the Franks were but one element, albeit preponderant, among the other Latin conquerors of Greece after 1204, i.e. Venetians, Lombards, Germans (later also Genoese, Hospitaller Knights, Catalans, Florentines), etc.

31. On the Empire's Hellenisation (6th-7th centuries) see here, chapter V.

32. On a parallel level, Justinian waged a long « defensive » and cautious war against the Sassanid Persians, while in the interior he faced in 532 a serious rebellion in Constantinople, the so-called « Nika riots », which he was able to quell with the invaluable help of his empress, Theodora, who according to the sources prevented him from abandoning his capital.

33. I.e. the 19th-century theory of the expansion of the Russian Empire at the expense of the eastern European nations through the unification of all Slavophone peoples under one sceptre.

34. On the derogatory connotations of the term « Graecus » and its derivatives by the Westerners, see above, chapter II.

35. Although the Macedonian legal codifications professed to renounce the eighth-century revolutionary codifications of the Isaurians, thus returning to pure Justinianic law, in fact they retained several of the Isaurian innovations (J. Bury).

36. Christianised by Basil II in A.D. 988-989, the Russians had launched three more naval attacks on the Imperial City, in 860, 907 and 941.

37. From « *Alamanni* », an early medieval appelation of the Germans, which has survived in the modern French term *Allemands*.

38. On the political entity referred to as Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261) as well as on the Latin domination in the Greek lands (1204-1566), see here chapter XI. See also chart II of this chapter.

39. The Muslim term « *Rûm* » signified « (ex-) Rhomaic <i.e. Greek Byzantine> lands » in Anatolia. The Seljuks had moved their Anatolian capital from Nicaea to Iconium in the early 12th century, after Alexios I Komnenos had recaptured Nicaea in the course of the First Crusade, in 1097.

40. Since 1204 and until its 15th-century Ottoman conquest (1456-1458), Athens never reverted to Byzantine control, but remained in the hands of successive Latin rulers : see chart II of this chapter.

41. On the gradual Ottoman conquest of the non-Greek Balkan states see the short monograph by A.G.C. Savvides, *Pages from the Balkan resistance to the Ottoman expansion during the 14th-15th centuries : Ugliesa-Hunyadi-Kastriotes-Kladas*, Athens, 1991 (in Greek).

42. Not « Constantine XI », as widely considered, for the eleventh was Constantine XI Laskaris, co-founder (with his brother Theodore I Laskaris) of the Nicaean Empire in 1204-1205.

43. « Hagiology » as opposed to « Hagiography », a popular term of Byzantine religious painting (« *hagiographia* »).

44. I.e. the language in which the New Testament was largely written (except for the Gospel of Matthew, written in Aramaic and translated into Greek) and the Old Tes-

tament, translated in the notable « translation of the Seventy », or « Septuagint ». See R. Browning, « Atticism », « Koine », in *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium* (1991), p. 229-230, 1135-1136.

45. The real beginnings of the medieval Greek vernacular (« *demotikē* ») are dated in the 11th-12th centuries, especially with the epic of *Digenes Akritas* (probably composed in the first part of the 11th century), characterised as one of the first literary texts in modern Greek ! Vernacular Greek in fact prevailed following the Latin conquest of 1204, with the Byzantine Empire's dismemberment.

46. Constantinople was generally styled with various lofty characterisations in Byzantine texts, like « Queen of cities » (« *basilis ton pōleon* » / « *basilevousa* »), « God-protected » (« *theoprōvlete* »), « God-liked » (« *theāreste* »), « eye » and « heart of the oecumene » (« *ophthalmōs* » / « *kardīa tes oikoumēnes* »), etc. See the interesting collection by E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, Munich, 1968.

47. An excellent and very comprehensive overview of heresies is given by D. Christie-Murray, *A history of Heresy*, Oxford - New York, 1989. The book fully covers the late classical, early and middle Byzantine, and western medieval periods : Judaizers (p. 13-20), Gnosticism (p. 21-32), Montanism (p. 33-37), Monarchianism (p. 38-44), Arianism (p. 45-55), Apollinarianism (p. 56-61), Nestorianism (p. 62-68), Eutychianism (p. 69-83), Pelagianism (p. 84-95) and a series of other medieval heresies (p. 96-122). However, while modern heresies are examined further on, no attention is given to late Byzantine and post-Byzantine Orthodoxy and its own heresies !

48. On Byzantium's mercenaries from the 11th century onwards see A.G.C. Savvides, *Studies on 11th-13th century Byzantine history* (in Greek), Athens, 1995 (2nd ed.), appendix II.

49. Avars and Slavs operated in conjunction from the 550s in the Balkans and in 626 threatened Constantinople itself, while emperor Herakleios I was campaigning in the East against the Persians.

50. The ancestors of the Bulgars were Turanic/Turkophone ; their gradual Slavicisation dates after their Christianisation in the second half of the 9th century ; this change is best represented in the titulature of Bulgarian leaders, termed « *khans* » in the Turanic period and « *tsars* » in the Christian period. Likewise, the chiefs of the Avars and other early medieval Turkic peoples were termed « *khans* » or « *khagans* ».

51. Immortalised in musical art through the superb « *Polovtsian Dances* » of Alexander Borodin's opera « *Prince Igor* ».

52. By « *Toūrkoi* » (Turks) the Byzantines usually referred to the Hungarians (Magyars) of Pannonia (central Europe).

53. The Byzantine-Moorish wars are vividly described in the mid 6th-century Latin epic narrative « *On the Libyan wars* » by Corippus.

54. On the kingdom of Axum see here, below.

55. This testimony, coming from the crusader chronicler Robert de Clari, illustrates that some contact between Byzantium and Nubia was maintained. On the other hand, it might be possible that the black king was an Ethiopian (perhaps Lalibela ?).

56. On him see also previous note.

57. A multi-faceted ongoing research programme in Rand Afrikaans University — under Professor Benjamin Hendrickx — on *Africano-Hellenica* and *Africano-Byzantina* examines such aspects as : Greek-Hellenistic and Byzantine presence in and influence upon Africa (in the fields of politics, civilisation, economy, linguistics) ; ancient African civilisations (especially Nubia and Ethiopia) and their relations with the Greek world ; Greek myths and legends in Africa ; the Greek diaspora in Africa and its archives ; the Greek Church in Africa.

58. On the « thematic system » see above, chapter IV.

59. On this see further on in this chapter.

60. See B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature grecque : la période jusqu'en 1821*, Uppsala, 1962 (on the akritic folksongs and the Digenes Akritas epic).

61. See especially his monograph : *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, Brussels, 1954. Several years before Ostrogorsky, A. Vasiliev had also referred to « The problem of Byzantine feudalism », in a celebrated 1933 article, later incorporated as a special chapter in the 2nd edition of his *History* (1952 and 1976).

62. Such a contract consisted of three parts : homage (with *immixtio manuum* and declaration of *volo*), fealty (*iuramentum*, *foi*, *fides*) and kiss (*osculum*). The same rite was observed by the Franks in « Romania » after 1204.

63. The *Assizes of Romania* should not be confused with another feudal code, the *Assizes of Cyprus*, which constitute a Greek version of the *Assizes of Jerusalem*.

64. I.e. those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.

65. Particularly in Italy the influence upon cultural life and letters by the Greek scholars was so catalytic, that the great American historian of the 20th century, Kenneth Setton, would speak of « The Byzantine background to the Italian Renaissance », *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100/1 (Philadelphia, 1956) (and Greek trans., Athens, 1989).

66. Despite the talks in 1965-1966 between the Orthodox patriarch Athenagoras I and pope Paul VI, resulting in mutual lifting of the 1054 anathemas ; a new « Ecumenical Council » towards that goal has been announced for the beginnings of the 21st century.

67. See here above, chapter II, with note 20.

68. In Greece the initial attempts towards a synthesis of medieval Greek (Byzantine) history, within the framework of the country's national historiography (ancient Greece - Byzantium - modern Greece), were manifested after the Greek revolution of 1821-1829, epecially in the 2nd part of the 19th century, with emminent scholars like Spyridon Zampēlios, Constantine Paparregōpoulos, Spyridon Lāmpros, and others.

69. Among the best known such journals are (in chronological order of appearance) : the German *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig-Munich-Stuttgart, 1892 ff.) ; the Russian *Vizantijskij Vremennik* (Moscow-Petrograd [Leningrad], 1894 ff.) ; the German (-Greek) *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* (Berlin-Athens, 1920 ff.); the Greek *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* (Athens, 1924 ff.) ; the Chech(oslovakian) *Byzantinoslavica* (Prague, 1929 ff.) ; the Belgian *Byzantion* (Paris-Liège-Brussels, 1924 ff.) ; the Italian *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome, 1935 ff.) ; the American *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Cambridge Mass. - Washington, 1941 ff.) ; the French *Revue des études byzantines* (Paris, 1949 ff.) ; the Austrian *Jahrbuch des österreichischen Byzantinistik (Gesellschaft)*, (Vienna, 1951 ff.) ; the Serbo-Croat *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta* (Belgrade, 1952 ff.) ; the Bulgarian *Byzantinobulgarica* (Sofia,

1962 ff.) ; the French *Travaux et mémoires* (Paris, 1965 ff.) ; the Dutch *Byzantinische Forschungen* (Amsterdam, 1966 ff.) ; the Greek *Byzantina* and *Byzantiaka* (Thessalonica, 1969 ff. and 1981 ff.) ; the British *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (Oxford-Birmingham, 1975 ff.) ; the Italian *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* (Bologna, 1981 ff.) ; the Greek *Diptycha* and *Byzantinōs Dōmos* (Athens, 1979 ff. and 1987 ff. ; Thessalonica, 1999 ff.), and others. In South Africa we can refer to *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* (Alexandria-Johannesburg, new series, 1990 ff.) and to *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* (Pretoria, 1990 ff.).

70. On the older major series of Byzantine historical texts editions, i.e. the Bonn series (« *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* »), the Leipzig series (« *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum and Romanorum Teubneriana* ») and the recent Corpus fontium series (« *Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae* » ; publ. in various places), see the grammatological manuals by Krumbacher, Tomadakes, Hunger and Karayannopulos-Weiss at the end of this book : « Further reading », section II.

71. Detailed lists of editions and translations of Byzantine history sources in J. Karayannopulos - G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, Wiesbaden, 1982 ; J. Karayannopulos, *Sources of Byzantine history*, Thessalonica, 1987 (5th ed.) (in Greek). The main modern manuals of Byzantine history (e.g. by Vasiliev, Ostrogorsky, Christophilopoulou) contain special introductory chapters on the main sources for each of the examined periods and subdivisions in their narratives.

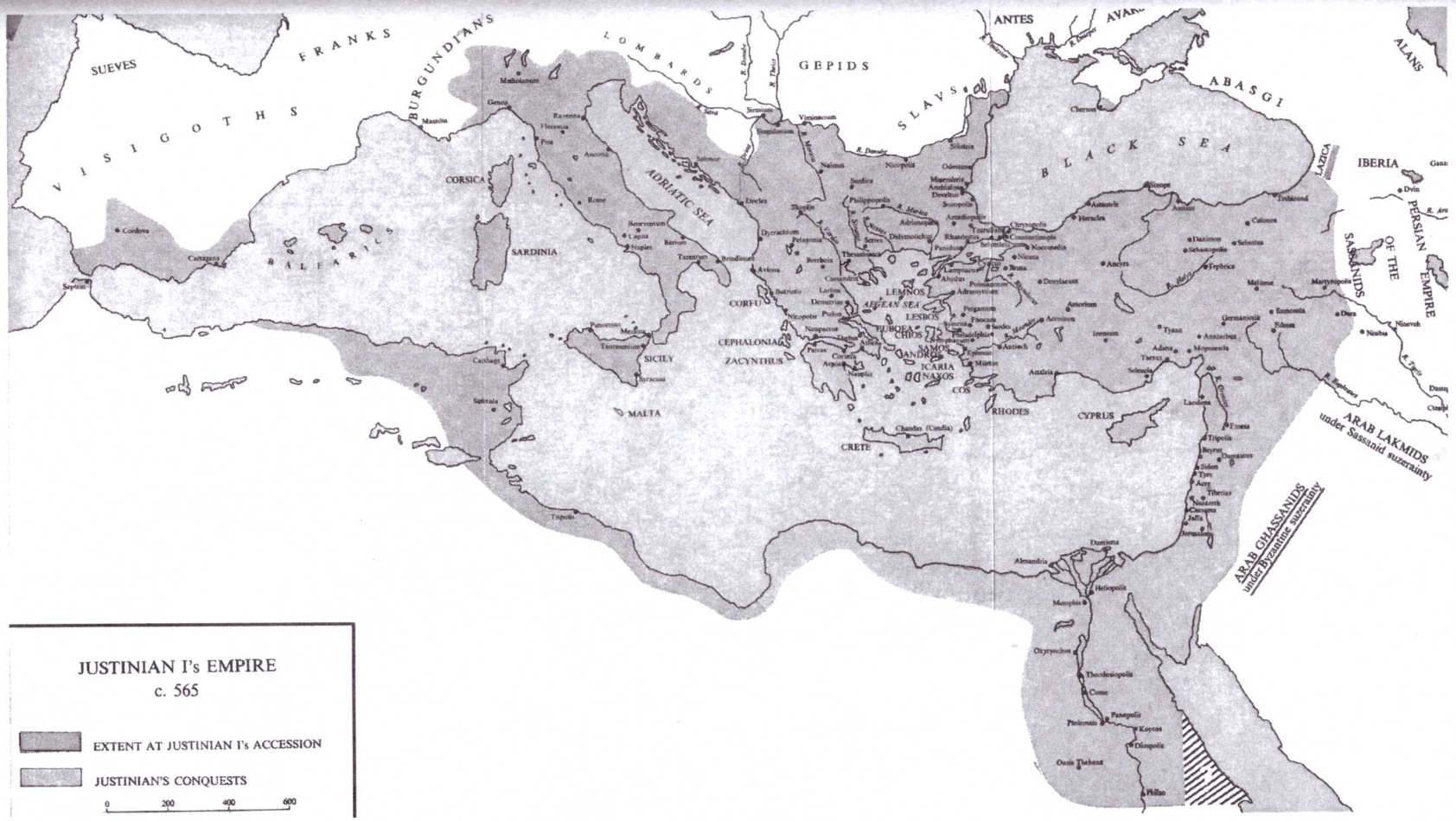
72. The best collection of Byzantine sources' extracts in English trans. is that by D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium : church, society and civilisation seen through contemporary eyes*, Chicago-London, 1984 ; see also E. Barker, *Social and political thought in Byzantium from Justinian to the last Palaeologus*, Oxford, 1957 (repr., 1961).

73. For important Byzantine civilisation manuals also in German and Italian see below, section V.

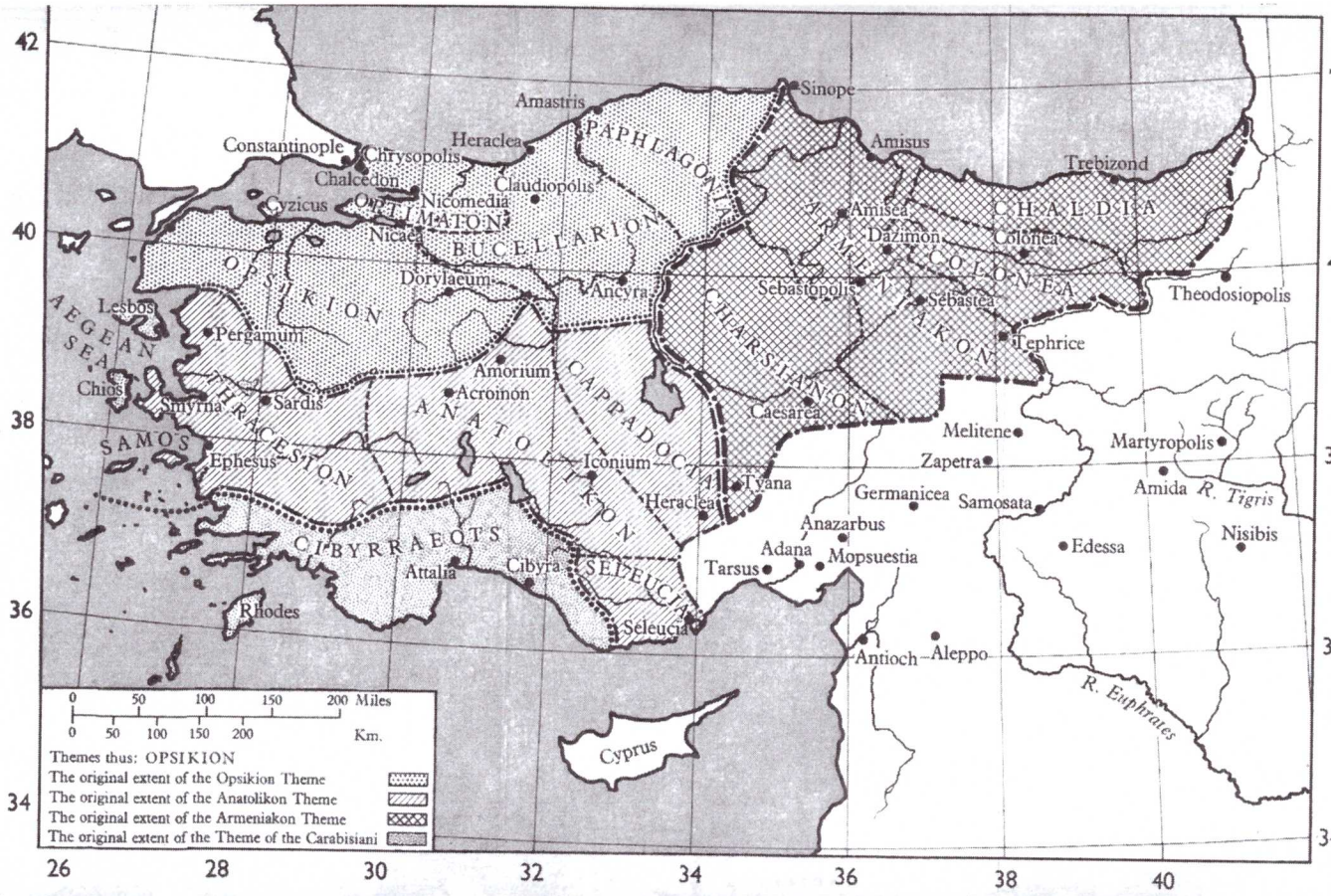
74. The researcher also has at his disposal three major collective prosopographical manuals, like the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* by A. Jones, J. Martindale and J. Morris, in 3 volumes for the period A.D. 260-641, Cambridge U.P., 1971-1992 (vols II and III compiled by J. Martindale alone), the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* by E. Trapp *et alii*, 12 fascicles, Vienna, 1976-1994 (covering the period A.D. 1261-1453 and beyond) and the recently launched *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, for the period 641-867, by Fr. Winkelmann, R.J. Lilie *et alii*, Berlin - New York, 1998 (*Prolegomena*) and 1999-2001 (vols. I-IV : entries *Aaron-Theophylaktos*). He also has at his disposal numerous individual monographs and articles on several Byzantine « oikoi » (households/families) : detailed bibliographies in A.G.C. Savvides, « Bibliographical advances in Byzantine prosopography of the middle and later periods, part I », *Medieval Prosopography* 13/1, Kalamazoo Michigan, 1992, and « Recent developments in Byzantine prosopographical and genealogical studies », *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 9 (Pretoria U., 1998), p. 115-127.

75. B. Hendrickx's forthcoming book entitled *Selected studies on Afro-Byzantine topics* will consist of a series of articles published in various journals between 1983 and 1999. For a comprehensive bibliography on the topic see *idem*, « Africano-byzantina : notes on methology and sources for " Black " Africa », *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 81 (new series 10) (1999), p. 115-126.

Maps

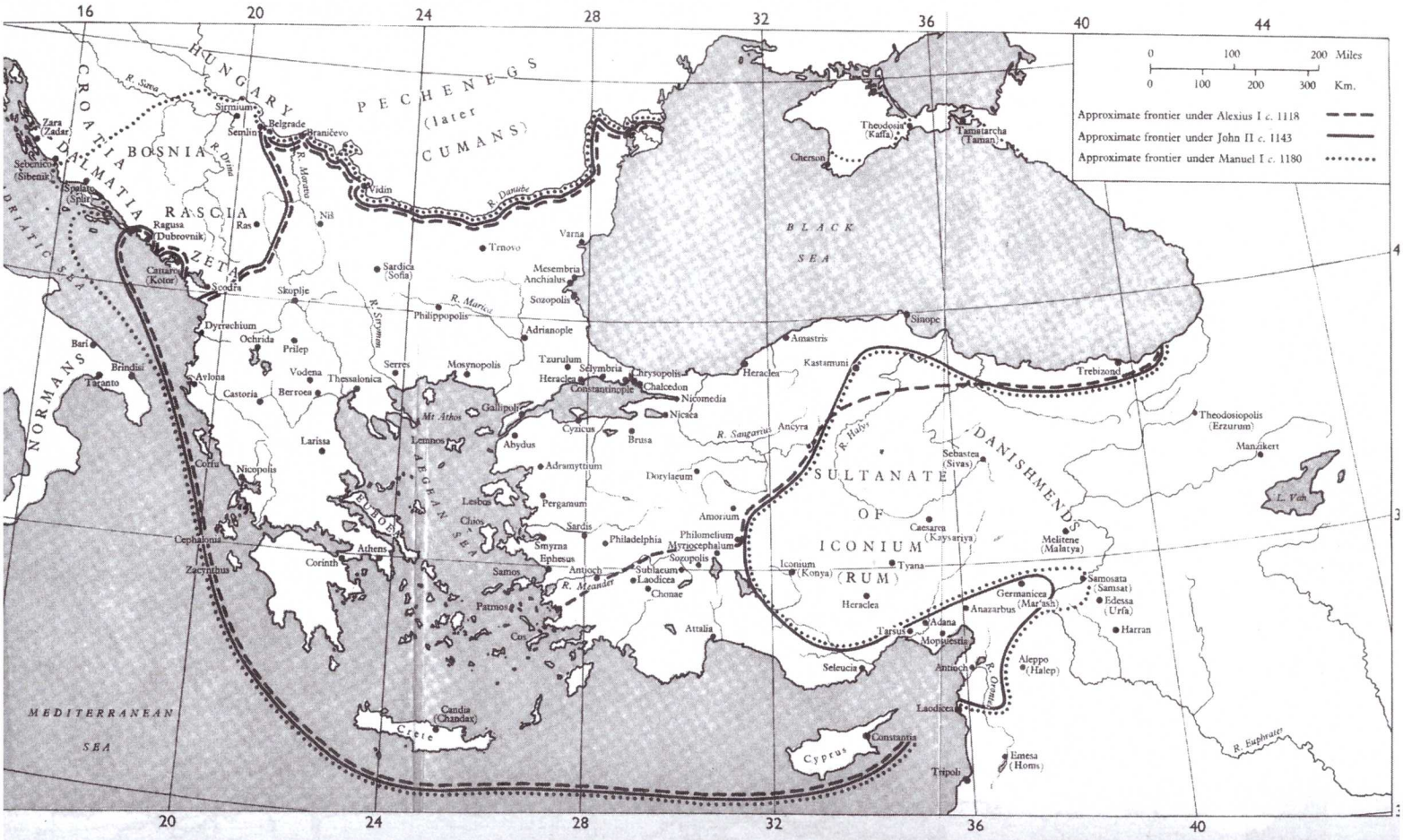


Map 1 : Justinian I's Empire, c. 565.



Map 2 : The organization of the Themes in Asia Minor in the VIIth-IXth centuries.

Map 3 : Basil II's Empire, c. 1025.



Map 4 : The Empire under the Comneni.

Map 5 : The Age of Latin rule in Constantinople.

Map 6 : The collapse of the Byzantine Empire in the XIVth century.

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Alexios G.C. Savvides - Benjamin Hendrickx, *Introducing Byzantine history (A manual for beginners)*. Composition : D.K.S. (en *Times*). Impression : Dumas-Titoulet imprimeurs, 42004 Saint-Étienne (sur papier *Bouffant ivoire*). Pour le compte des éditions Hêrodotos, 75005 Paris. Dépôt légal première édition : octobre 2001. Numéro d'éditeur : 13. Numéro d'imprimeur : 36744B. *(Imprimé en France.)*